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Domestic Violence in Pakistan: The Role of Patriarchy, Gender Roles, the Culture of Honor and Objectification/Commodification of Women

A dissertation submitted to the faculty of
the California School of Professional Psychology
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy in Psychology at
Alliant International University, Los Angeles, California

by

Rubeena Kidwai

December 13, 2001

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The dissertation of Rubeena Kidwai, directed and approved by the candidate's Committee, has been accepted by the Faculty of the California School of Professional Psychology in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the Degree of

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DEDICATION

To Abbu and Ammi.

To my siblings, Apu, Meena, Moni, Shahid, Neebu and Muneeza.

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Last, but not the least, with deep gratitude, humility and utmost love, I wish to acknowledge the ever-present Grace, the unfailing Mercy and the unending Beneficence of Allah, my Guide and my Protector. May every path I take be a path that brings me closer to You.

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Domestic Violence in Pakistan: The Role of Patriarchy, Gender Roles, Culture of Honor, and Objectification and Commodification of Women

by

Rubeena Kidwai

Doctor of Philosophy in Psychology

California School of Professional Psychology
Alliant International University Los Angeles
2001

Paula B. Johnson, Ph.D., Chairperson

This dissertation utilizes Galtung's (1990) theory of cultural violence to address cultural factors that may be related to domestic violence and wife abuse in Pakistan. It discusses the role of patriarchy, gender role ideologies, culture of honor, and sexual objectification and commodification in domestic violence, as proposed by western theory and research. These concepts are then expanded and applied to the Pakistani culture in order to understand domestic violence and wife abuse in Pakistan. The dissertation proposes a conceptual model which includes patriarchy as a larger belief system and gender role

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ideologies, culture of honor, and objectification and commodification of women as subsystems, all of which come together to generate or perpetuate domestic violence in Pakistan. The proposed model includes additional factors relevant to the Pakistani culture, such as the importance of family and marriage in kinship based societies, societal and religious emphasis on the institution of marriage, family structures and family hierarchies, and domestic violence by extended family members, including older women. Based upon the proposed model, implications for interventions and future research are suggested.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Scope of the Dissertation

This dissertation is an exploration of cultural factors that may be related to the issue of domestic violence and wife abuse in Pakistan. The dissertation addresses the increasing violence towards women in the Pakistani society, where a majority of the perpetrators are the victims' family members including husbands (Report of the Commission of Inquiry for Women, 1997). The scope of this dissertation is scope 1 per CSPP guidelines for non-empirical dissertations. According to these guidelines, a non-empirical dissertation with scope 1 aims "To expand a theory, model or concept to a new area" (California School of Professional Psychology - Los Angeles, 1994). Following the model of scope 1, the scope of the present paper is to examine the existing literature on patriarchal beliefs and gender roles as proposed by western theorists and to expand this body of knowledge to understanding the phenomenon of domestic violence in Pakistan. Specifically, the scope of this dissertation aims to look at literature on gender role issues, concepts of honor, and objectification and commodification of women within patriarchal societies, and

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how these concepts might relate to domestic violence and wife beating in Pakistan, taking into account the Pakistani culture.

Theoretical and Conceptual Considerations

In conceptualizing domestic violence within the Pakistani culture I find it useful to employ Johan Galtung's (1990) tripartite model of violence. According to Galtung (1990), there are three forms of violence. The first form is direct violence, which may include physical, emotional or sexual acts of aggression. The second form of violence is called indirect or structural violence which includes institutionalized oppression and exploitation. The third form is what Galtung calls cultural violence and which he defines as relatively permanent aspects of a culture that support, encourage, generate or legitimize either direct or indirect violence. Galtung differentiates between direct violence, which he describes as a discrete "event", and structural violence which he states is a "process" with an ebb and flow (1990, p.294). Cultural violence, on the other hand, includes more or less permanent and unchanging aspects of a culture within which direct violence occurs and where patterns of indirect violence thrive. Galtung includes religion, ideology, language and art, and empirical and formal sciences as some

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of those permanent aspects that can become the context within which direct or structural violence may take place (Galtung, 1990).

Drawing from Galtung's view, I propose that the direct act of violence against Pakistani wives is layered with the indirect or structural violence by various institutions in the society. I contend that these two forms of violence take place within the context of cultural violence, that is, the attitudes and beliefs in the Pakistani society that may legitimize misogynistic practices such as wife abuse.

In order to address the cultural aspects of the Pakistani society that may be related to domestic violence in Pakistan, the present paper will take a feminist perspective on domestic violence. In congruence with Galtung's view, feminist perspectives on domestic violence point to the necessity of including the larger structural and sociocultural aspects of a society which provide the framework for various forms of physical, emotional and sexual violence towards women (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; French, 1993; Koss, Goodman, Browne, Fitzgerald, Keita & Russo, 1994; Kurz, 1989). Other theories of domestic violence have looked at biological or personality factors related to the perpetrators or the victims (Hastings & Hamberger, 1988; Shainess, 1984), violence as a result of

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social learning or childhood experiences (Hotaling & Sugarman, 1986; Walker, 1978) or nature of the family, or stress within the family due to employment or poverty as causes of family violence (Gelles & Straus, 1988).

However, the former two approaches look to the individual or a single-family unit to explain the occurrence of violence. The latter approach, the family systems approach offered by Gelles and Straus (1988) does address the cultural and structural aspects of violence but focuses on family violence in general, including the various forms of violence such as child abuse, elder abuse, marital abuse and sibling abuse. Feminist approaches, on the other hand, address domestic violence or spouse abuse as a gender based social problem which is reflective of a greater system or culture of men's domination and control over women (French, 1993; Pagelow, 1984). As such, this perspective emphasizes the larger sociocultural context of domestic violence (Kurz, 1989) and fits with the conceptual model of this study. The second chapter of this paper will present the feminist perspective on domestic violence in greater detail.

In order to identify the problem, the following section will present information on the occurrence of domestic violence and wife beating in Pakistan as forms of

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direct violence against Pakistani women. Next, I will present information on the response of the Pakistani police and the judicial system to domestic violence, as instances of structural or indirect forms of violence. In order to address the cultural roots of domestic violence in Pakistan, I will then focus on the crux of this paper, i.e., the cultural set up and the kinds of beliefs, values and attitudes that exist in the Pakistani society, around the issue of violence towards women and specifically domestic violence. The section will include a discussion on how cultural values, beliefs and attitudes may set the stage for violence towards women in Pakistan.

Statement of the Problem

Violence Against Women in Pakistan

> Parveen's eyes are empty sockets of unseeing flesh, her earlobes have been sliced off, and her nose is gaping, reddened stump of bone. Sixteen months ago, her husband, in a fit of rage over alleged affair with a brother-in-law, bound her hands and feet and slashed her with a razor and knife. She was three months pregnant at the time. "He came home from the mosque and accused me of having bad character," the tiny, 32-year-old woman murmured as she awaited a court hearing

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last month. "I told him it was not true, but he didn't believe me. He caught me and tied me up, and then he started cutting my face. He never said a word except, "This is your last night" (Constable, 2000).

Parveen Akter, 37, was severely burned in September when her husband...threw acid on her. According to Akter, whose face, chest and back are badly scarred, her husband wanted to return to his first wife, and she refused. She said she went to the police, but that her husband paid them a series of bribes and they did not investigate. He has since fled to another city (Constable, 2000).

Kousar Perveen, a 32-year-old mother of four...was allegedly beaten and burned to death by her in-laws...According to her parents and sisters, the in-laws had forbidden her to leave their house, even to visit her ailing parents or attend a cousin's wedding, and she had quarreled bitterly with them (Constable, 2000).

Mai Halima was killed by her own husband, Dur Mohammed. He threw the parts of her body in a

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> gunnysack and tossed them in the irrigation canal where the buffalo bathe. She was executed according to a tribal tradition called *karo kari*, under which any man who sees a female relative with a man to whom she is not married is obligated to kill both individuals to preserve his family honor (Griffin, 1996).

Recently, much has been written in the Pakistani as well as international press on the issue of the rampant violence towards women in Pakistan (Amnesty International, 1998; 1999a; Constable, 2000; Haroon, 1996: Sohail, 1996a; 1996b; "UNIFEM claims," 1995). The above mentioned excerpts are but a few examples of this violence. According to these news and reports, numerous Pakistani women have been abducted, mutilated, burned, raped, paraded naked in public or murdered, often by their own family members. All too often, these atrocities against women are carried out in the name of preserving the family honor, i.e., to punish a woman who may have crossed the boundaries of conduct prescribed to her by a traditionally male dominated society. These acts of so called misconduct, which allegedly dishonor the family's name and its standing in the community, may include refusing to marry a man of her family's choice, having a real or alleged relationship

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with someone that the family does not approve, or even leaving the house to see relatives. Chapter 3 of this dissertation will present a more detailed discussion of the concept of "honor", its role in patriarchy and its implications for women in the Pakistani society.

There are also instances where women have been murdered by their family and kin for other reasons and the murder is later justified as having been committed in the name of family honor, in which case the perpetrator gets away with impunity (Amnesty International, 1999a). According to one Pakistani lawyer and human rights activist, Asma Jehangir, "...judges are lenient in honour killing cases. Under the Pakistan Penal Code, it is a justifiable offence and killers rarely serve more than two years in prison." (Griffin, 1996). The state and judicial bodies fail to address the issue, and at times, condone these heinous crimes committed against women (Human Rights Watch, 1999). This is a stark example of how women are punished for any attempts at self-determination for their own lives, both by the perpetrators as well as by the various state institutions, which are supposed to protect the victims. Additionally, in instances where women become victims of family violence in order to settle scores with enemies, or to settle disputes of land or money, the

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women's status is belittled to that of a commodity; to be bartered, battered, or even eliminated, with no worth or value attached to her as a human being.

Domestic Violence in Pakistan

Incidents like the ones reported earlier have received public attention, mostly due to the efforts of a small group of human rights activists, feminists, lawyers and journalists in Pakistan as well as some internationally based human rights groups (Amnesty International, 1999a; Human Rights Watch, 1999). The issue of honor killings has received particular attention. However, there has been very little discussion of domestic violence in Pakistan in the local (Pakistani) or international forum. In reality, a perusal of these reports and news reveals that a great number of these crimes against women are perpetrated by family members, including husbands, fathers, brothers, uncles, and often with the help of older women of the family. Hence, all such violence may be seen as family violence or domestic violence.

Before I proceed with the discussion, I will clarify some of the terms commonly used when addressing domestic violence. Typically, the term family violence has been used to refer to any violence within the home, be it violence inflicted upon spouses, siblings, children or

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dependant elders (Straus, Gelles, & Steinmetz, 1980). Such violence may include physical battering, sexual assault or emotional /psychological abuse (Flanzer, 1982). Domestic violence or partner abuse typically refers to physical, sexual, verbal or emotional abuse between intimate partners, whether married or cohabiting, and whether in heterosexual or same-sexed unions. Wife abuse refers to physical, sexual or emotional abuse perpetrated by husbands upon their wives. Wife beating or battering refers specifically to husband's physical aggression towards their wives. This would include hitting, slapping, punching, biting, choking, kicking or shooting (Hutchings, 1988).

In Pakistan, domestic violence may also take forms of stove deaths or bride burning (women are burnt to death by their husbands or in-laws and their deaths are reported as accidents of burst stoves), acid throwing (acid thrown usually on a females' face or body to disfigure her), forced marriages, and honor killings (Hassan, 1995). In this writer's view, in some cases of domestic violence in Pakistan, it seems somewhat artificial to differentiate between spousal abuse and family violence since, even if a women is beaten, battered or killed by a family member other than her husband (such as brother in law or uncle), the violence may still be related to the woman's role

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within the context of her marriage (for example, not fulfilling her wifely duties, not bringing enough dowry, or not being the subservient daughter in law). This may be due to the fact that marriage in South Asia is considered a contract between two families rather than two individuals (Korson & Sabzwari, 1984). As such, the individual's relationships, specially the wife's, with the many family members of the spouse, are also central to the marital relationship. In such a context, there may not always be clear cut distinctions between spousal abuse and family violence. Hence, although this study looks specifically at wife abuse perpetrated by husbands, it is acknowledged that spousal abuse or battery in Pakistan may involve multiple perpetrators within the family. In view of the multiplicity of perpetrators, the term domestic violence may or may not always refer to wife abuse, and so the two terms are not necessarily interchangeable. However, because of the paucity of research or data on wife abuse, data on domestic violence in Pakistan will be included where appropriate.

Fikree and Bhatti (1999) assessed the prevalence of domestic violence and mental health consequences among women from low and middle-income families in Karachi, Pakistan. The researchers solicited female patients or

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female relatives accompanying patients at three different outpatient medical clinics in low to middle income areas. Subjects were selected if they were currently married and had been living with their husbands for at least a year. Interviews with subjects were based on a standardized questionnaire designed for the study which included items on demographics, questions as to whether the subjects had ever experienced physical abuse in their marital lives (characterized by pushing, shoving, pulling hair, kicking, slapping, being threatened with an weapon etc.), and questions about what the respondents thought was the most common reason for this abuse socially as well as in their own households. Subjects were also administered the Aga Khan University Anxiety and Depression Scale (AKUADS) which is based on DSM IV classification for anxiety and depression and has been designed and standardized for the Pakistani population (1999).

Of the 150 women interviewed for the study, 34% reported ever being physically abused by their husbands, with slapping, pushing, and hair pulling being the most common forms of abuse. Respondents reported that they perceived financial constraints and conflicts with in-laws to be the most common reason for wife abuse in the society in general as well as their own abuse by their husbands.

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Respondents also perceived marital conflicts related to their children as another common reason for physical abuse in their own homes. The authors of the study reported a statistically significant association between physical abuse and presence of anxiety or depression (Fikree & Bhatti, 1999).

Aside from study mentioned above, I could not find any formal research on the prevalence or incidence of domestic violence in Pakistan. However various social welfare organizations and human rights groups involved in working with the victims of domestic violence have conducted their own informal surveys. For example, according to an informal survey by the Ansar Burney Welfare Trust, a human and civil rights organization in Pakistan, about 82% of women in the rural Punjab (the largest of the four provinces in Pakistan) and 65% of women in the urban area of Punjab, reported being beaten by their husbands ("Honour killings," 1999). Similarly, an article in The Washington Post quoted the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan, according to whom, in the years 1998 and 1999, more than 850 women in Punjab were killed by their husbands, brothers, father or other relatives. The commission also reported that in the same years, 560 women were burned at home, at least half of whom died (Constable, 2000). A 1998

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report by Amnesty International quoted the findings of various women's groups in Pakistan, according to which, about 70% of Pakistani women were subjected to violence in their homes. The report also mentioned the rise of bride burning incidents, "perpetrated most often by the victims' husbands or husbands' families to punish young women for failure to obey, to bear sons or to bring a larger dowry" (Amnesty International, 1998, p.7).

As stated earlier, the above mentioned numbers are results of informal surveys and none of the reports clarify how the surveys were conducted, who was interviewed or contacted for the survey, what ethnic or regional groups were included, and how abuse was defined or measured. It is also not clear whether the above mentioned figures reflect only the more extreme cases, those that make headline news, or those that seek redress and/or contact the women's rights or human rights activists, or, if in fact, they include all cases of wife abuse (i.e., cases of wife beating as well as wife battering). However, even if these numbers are considered estimates, they suggest that domestic violence is a common occurrence in Pakistani households. If the estimates of domestic violence appear alarmingly high, what is more alarming is the attitude of the state and the police towards the victims of domestic

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violence.

Attitude of the State and the Police Towards Victims of Domestic Violence and Wife Abuse

In the Pakistan Penal Code, wife abuse or wife battering is not a crime at all, and there is no specific law or ordinance directed at domestic violence (Human Rights Watch, 1999; Report of the Commission of Inquiry for Women, 1997). Those cases that have been handled by the courts are ones that can be tried in criminal courts as charges for murder, attempted murder or grave bodily harm against a person. One can infer from this that for a woman to be able to file a case against her violent husband, she would have to sustain severe bodily harm or be murdered before she can have her day in court. Furthermore, even when women do try to file charges against their battering husbands, it is reported that the police take on a conciliatory role where they try to pacify the situation between the victim and the perpetrator and/or discourage the victim from pursuing a criminal charge (Human Rights Watch, 1999). The Human Rights Watch group noted that in the year 1997, 215 cases of "stove-deaths" were reported in the local newspapers while only six suspects were ever taken into custody. The report went on to state that even the more serious acts of domestic violence, those which

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qualified as assaults or attempted murder, "are routinely downplayed by the police as a result of biased attitudes and ignorance" (Human Rights Watch, 1999, p.2). In fact, the authors of the report noted that:

> ...the state's response to domestic violence in Pakistan is so minimal and cases of intrafamily violence are so rarely addressed in anyway by the criminal justice system that it was not possible for us to achieve one of our research goals for this report: that is to track specific domestic violence criminal suits in order to identify larger patterns in the prosecution of domestic violence. We found that despite the staggering levels of intrafamily violence against women, it is widely perceived by the law enforcement system and society at large as a private matter, not subject to government intervention let alone criminal sanction. At present there is virtually no prosecution of crimes of assault and battery when perpetrated by male family members against women... (Human Rights Watch, 1999, p.31).

In addition to the unresponsiveness of the police, there is a gender bias in the criminal justice system (Ahmed, 1994; Zia, 1991). According to some reports, in cases where a charge such as sexual violence or abduction

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was finally brought against the perpetrator and the case was brought in criminal courts, victims were often met with outright gender based discrimination and prejudice by the judges (Amnesty International, 1998). For example, the Amnesty International - USA (1999a) cited a case where a man murdered his wife alleging that she had been having an affair, although none of the circumstantial or medical evidence bore out his allegations. The court ordered a lenient sentence, noting that "...when he took the extreme step of taking her life giving her repeated knife blows on different parts of her body, she must have done something unusual to enrage him to that extent" (Amnesty International, 1999a, p. 50).

In order to elaborate on this discrimination in the justice system, it will be useful to mention briefly how the Pakistani courts deal with criminal charges related to murder or bodily harm. Under the current law in Pakistan, cases of physical injury, manslaughter and murder are dealt with under the Islamic law or Hudood Ordinance of Qisas (retribution, usually by death) and Diyat (compensation to the victim or heir of victim) (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987; Report of the Commission of Inquiry for Women, 1997). According to this law, the victim or the victim's heir has the right to decide whether they want to report and

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prosecute the offender or they can waive prosecution. If they choose to prosecute the offender, the victim or the heir has the right to choose between Qisas (retribution) and Diyat (compensation or blood money). In cases where retribution is inapplicable, such as not enough evidence, then the case is subject to Tazir, meaning the judge decides whether to punish the offender, what the punishment should be and for how long.

There are certain aspects of the Qisas and Diyat law, as they are interpreted and implemented in Pakistan, which work to women's disadvantage, especially in cases of domestic violence. First of all, acts of bodily harm, manslaughter and murder become crimes against the individual rather than a crime against the state. It is up to the individual as to how she/he wants to proceed or not proceed with the charges. This practice reinforces the idea of familial violence (or any other form of violence) as a private matter between individuals and allows the police and the state to abdicate their responsibility to protect the public, in this case, a battered woman. Also, the victim, an already disempowered woman who is to make decisions about whether to seek prosecution, is often pressured by the police or her extended family not to pursue prosecution against her husband (Human Rights Watch,

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1999).

Another loophole in the Qisas and Diyat law is that if the victim of murder has an heir who is also the heir of the offender, then the offender can not be subjected to Qisas (retribution) (Human Rights Watch, 1999). Hence if a husband killed his wife and the couple had had children together, the offender would automatically be immune to retribution, although he could still be punished through Tazir, which is usually a more lenient sentence. The dispensing of Diyat or compensation would be applicable in this case, provided the heir agreed to it, but it would be meaningless as a punishment, since the offender would be paying blood money to his own children.

Yet another aspect which reeks of societal bias in the guise of Pakistani law is the definition of rape under the Hudood Ordinance, which does not recognize marital rape as a crime (Zia, 1994). Briefly, under the Hudood Ordinance, rape is defined as sexual intercourse without the consent or will of the victim or where the sexual offender was aware that he (the language of the law does not refer to a woman as possible offender) was not married to the victim. In other words, for an offender to get away with rape all he would have to do would be to produce a marriage license and the case would be dismissed. Hence thousands of

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Pakistani women may be subjected to sexual violence at the hands of their husbands without ever having any recourse or redress.

Perhaps one of the most obvious ways in which the criminal justice system does disservice to battered wives is where the judges have the option of Tazir, i.e., it is entirely up to their discretion as to whether to punish the offender and what form of sentence or punishment to give and for how long. Because the judges have full discretionary powers at this point, they often display their gender-based biases and prejudices in making their decisions (Hassan, 1995). For example, cases have been reported where the judges expressed their disbelief of the victim's claim of violence or otherwise admonished the victim. In cases where defendants have used the defense of having committed the act of violence to preserve their honor, judges have been reported to give lenient sentences, often voicing their own agreement with the defendant's stance (Amnesty International, 1999a; Griffin, 1996; Human Rights Watch, 1999).

It should be noted that the manner in which the Islamic laws of Qisas and Diyat are interpreted and implemented in Pakistan are contrary to the ideology of Islam, which places a heavy emphasis on social justice

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(Brohi, 1976). Islamic ideology views all humanity as one family (Chapra, 1976). It stresses equality between the sexes (Hassan, 1991) and strictly prohibits any discrimination based on race, color, class or region (Ahmad, 1976). Islam is not only a religion but a complete way of life which encompasses all aspects of human life, including the personal, familial, social, religious, political, legal, and economic (Ahmad, 1976). It expects all humans, men and women, to be just and virtuous in their dealings in all of these different spheres of life (Brohi, 1976). Islam also holds a balanced view of individualism and collectivism, where each individual has fundamental rights as well as personal accountability to God. At the same time, each individual, man or woman, also has a social responsibility to safeguard the rights of others and to act in service of the larger social good (Ahmad, 1976; Irving, 1976).

In spite of Islam's emphasis on social justice and equality, the Pakistani government and law makers have interpreted and implemented Islamic law in a manner that discriminates against women (Zia, 1991; 1994). This may be considered a prime example of how culture driven interpretations of religion overshadow the true message and spirit of Islam. Chapters 3 and 4 of this paper will take

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a closer look at the use of religion to assert patriarchy and men's dominance over women in Pakistan.

Based upon what I have discussed so far, two points can be summarized. First, according to the local and international reports, there is an indication of high incidence of domestic violence in Pakistan (Amnesty International, 1999a, b; Human Rights Watch, 1999; Report of the Commission of Inquiry for Women, 1997). Second, and in stark contrast to this first observation, the Human Rights Watch group noted that in the year of 1999, there was not a single prosecution for crimes of domestic violence (Human Rights Watch, 1999). The obvious contradiction between these two facts, compounded by reports of gender based prejudice by the courts and judges when dealing with victims of domestic violence, speaks blatantly of the state's attitude towards the issue of domestic violence. This attitude may be seen as a dismissal of the issue at best, and promoting and condoning of misogynistic beliefs and practices at worst; the latter possibly resulting in increased violence towards women, both inside as well as outside the home. The following chapter will explore gender-related issues in more detail. The discrepancy between the occurrence of domestic violence in Pakistan and the state's dismissal of it as a private

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and family matter begs attention and necessitates a closer look at the sociocultural factors such as societal beliefs and expectations that may contribute to violence against Pakistani women.

Cultural Attitudes and Beliefs Related to Domestic Violence in Pakistan

> Twenty-nine year old Samia Sarwar was shot dead in her lawyer's office in Lahore on April 6, 1999. Her parents instigated the murder, feeling that Samia had brought shame on the family by seeking divorce after 10 years of marital abuse. Although perpetrators can be easily identified, not one of them has been arrested. (Amnesty International, 1999b, p. 4).

The above excerpt is telling, not only because it indicates the lack of response from the police, but the attitude of the victim's family when she tried to escape ten years of physical abuse by her husband. I propose that the fact that a woman's parents preferred her dead (and arranged for it) rather than see her leave an abusive husband is a disturbing but accurate depiction of how some Pakistani families may see (or refuse to see) domestic violence and the woman's attempt to escape it.

As with other aspects of the issue of domestic violence in Pakistan, there is very little research or

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theory on how the Pakistani society in general views this topic. In fact, the only reference I came across regarding people's attitudes was in the annual report by Amnesty International - USA, 1999, which quoted the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan according to whom, about two thirds of Pakistanis considered the wife's disobedience to her husband to be a just cause for beating (Amnesty International - USA, 1999a, b). Although there was no information available regarding the actual details of the study, i.e., the population studied, the procedure and method adopted, the reference to the study provides some information regarding the Pakistani society's attitude towards victims of wife abuse.

Furthermore, the response of the state and the police, as discussed above, may be seen as a reflection of societal attitudes in Pakistan, for the laws and the legislation of a country often embody the customs and values of a particular society. For example, Dobash and Dobash (1979) in their book *Violence Against Wives* presented a detailed analysis of how, over the centuries, societal devaluation and subjugation of women in the western societies, had been sanctioned by the law. They contend that in these societies, the very social institutions which were supposed to protect and guide the public, embodied deeply

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patriarchal attitudes by condoning wife beating, often delineating specific modes and parameters for the "chastisement " of wives (Dobash & Dobash, 1979, p. 44).

If Dobash and Dobash (1979) are correct in their assertion that the laws of a given society reflect that society's values and attitudes, one can apply this logic within the context of the Pakistani society. The question would then be; to what extent is the response of the Pakistani State and the judicial system towards wife beating reflective of the Pakistani society's attitude towards women and to wife beating? What are these values and beliefs and how do they impact the acceptance or tolerance of wife beating? How does wife beating fit in the Pakistani culture? Questions like these lead us to examine the cultural context of wife beating in Pakistan, that is, the patriarchal set up of the Pakistani society, the gender roles, and also the concept of "honor" which is proposed to be frequently associated with domestic violence in Pakistan. Hence the specific aim of this study is to explore how patriarchal beliefs, socially prescribed gender roles, and the concept of 'honor' are related to attitudes towards women and to acceptance of misogynistic beliefs and of wife beating?

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Social Significance of the Dissertation

This dissertation is socially significant because, as mentioned above, the reported estimates of incidences of domestic violence in Pakistan indicate that domestic violence and wife abuse is a social problem in that society (Amnesty International 1998; 1999a; Constable, 2000; Honour killings, 1999). Thus it seems timely to address the issue of domestic violence in Pakistan and to look at the links between cultural violence and the prevalence of domestic violence in that society. I believe that as professionals, it behooves psychologists to be cognizant of and to address issues of cultural violence where relevant, when working with their clients, lest they too, out of ignorance, become a part of cultural oppression.

This dissertation is also socially significant because it will reinforce the fact that domestic violence is a social malady that extends far beyond American homes. It is in fact an international issue and, as recent studies have shown, is prevalent in many societies both western and non-western, and affects women from all classes and strata (Counts, Brown & Campbell, 1999; Crites, 1990; Ellsberg, Caldera, Herrera, Winkvist & Kullgren, 1999; Fischbach & Herbert, 1997; Horne, 1999; Kozu, 1999; McWhirter, 1999; Tang, 1994).

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Finally, an important social implication of this dissertation is the growing numbers of immigrants from Pakistan and other Asian countries, who are settling in America (U.S. Department of Justice, 1999). As these minorities establish their communities in America they bring with them traditions and customs peculiar to their respective groups. In the process in trying to maintain their cultural identity in an unfamiliar land, these groups may insulate themselves from the larger culture (Dasgupta, 2000). With increasing awareness of domestic violence in immigrant communities (Abraham, 1999; Ayyub, 2000; Bui & Morash, 1999; Dasgupta, 2000; Hassouneh-Phillips, 2001; Mehrotra, 1999; Yick, 2001), there is a heightened need for mental health workers and domestic violence advocates to become familiar with the cultural issues relevant to domestic violence in the South Asian immigrant communities. Such knowledge would be imperative if the South Asian communities are to be served effectively.

As America becomes more and more culturally and ethnically diverse as a country, psychologists will be more likely to see clients who come from diverse cultural backgrounds. I believe that it will become increasingly important for psychologists to be cognizant of the various cultural factors that may support or promote the occurrence

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of domestic violence in their clients' lives. Such an understanding will enable psychologists to conceptualize and address their clients' issues in a more culturally sensitive and informed manner.

Theoretical Significance of the Dissertation

In contrast to the growing recognition of domestic violence as an international issue, most of the available theory and research on domestic violence have been generated by western social scientists, such as those from America, Canada or Great Britain (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Dutton, 1988; McHugh, Frieze & Brown, 1999; Straus, Gelles, & Steinmetz, 1980; Walker, 1984). While these efforts are commendable and provide a framework to address the issue of domestic violence, they may not always address the complexities and cultural implications of non-western societies.

The issue here is not so much to assert that there are different brands of domestic violence, although the excerpts given earlier in this paper attest that wife abuse in Pakistan may be qualitatively or quantitatively different in some cases from that in America. The question here is whether our present knowledge of the problem of wife abuse, which is based on the work of western social

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scientists, is sufficient to understand and address domestic violence in non-western societies, in this case, Pakistan. I propose that there are probably some aspects similar to western societies, such as patriarchal beliefs, and others, which may be more particular to the Pakistani society, such as the issue of honor, and its implication for women's lives. Thus, I believe that psychologists need to complement what is already known about wife abuse and domestic violence, with more multicultural research and theory.

Finally, the two published studies that I found that specifically address domestic violence in Pakistan, are descriptive in nature, in that they either offer statistics (Fikree & Bhatti, 1999) or they describe various forms of domestic violence (Hassan, 1995). Although Hassan (1995) includes a chapter on cultural contexts of some of these abuses, she does not offer a comprehensive theory as to what aspects of patriarchy or gender issues in the Pakistani culture come into play to sustain domestic violence. The present paper endeavors to offer such a theory so that in addition to knowing the prevalence of and the various forms of domestic violence, there is an understanding of the larger systemic forces that either generate or sustain domestic violence in Pakistan. Such a

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theory would be helpful in addressing interventions at an individual and social level as well as in generating future research in the area.

Limitations

This dissertation has certain limitations to the generalizability of the proposed theory to a specific group. First, the dissertation addresses wife beating and does not specifically address psychological, emotional or sexual abuse within marriage. Second, it addresses violence in heterosexual relationships and does not address violence among same sexed couples. Third, this dissertation is limited to the issue of wife abuse and does not address wives' physical or emotional abuse of their husbands. All of the above are important areas for future research. In addition, the dissertation is limited to the Pakistani culture and generalizations to domestic violence in other cultures may not be appropriate. Finally, I have chosen to approach the issue of domestic violence in Pakistan from a feminist perspective. As such, the present paper follows a certain paradigm, which is looking at patriarchy and related concepts. Any time one follows a particular paradigm to understand a phenomenon, certain concepts or aspects may be given greater emphasis while certain other

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aspects may be overlooked. This may limit the number of factors taken into account to explain the problem under study. Nevertheless, as a woman from a traditional Muslim society, I find the feminist perspective to be an appropriate platform to begin addressing questions and concerns about the state of women in Pakistan.

Summary

This chapter highlighted the issue of domestic violence and wife abuse in Pakistan with special reference to the attitude and response of the state and the police towards victims of domestic violence. I presented information on the high incidence of domestic violence and wife beating in Pakistan, and introduced the scope and aim of this dissertation: What kinds of cultural beliefs and attitudes cultivate or promote acceptance or tolerance of wife beating? The following chapter will begin this exploration by delineating the different aspects of patriarchy, gender roles, objectification and commodification of women. I will present a detailed review of research on these concepts and discuss how they may be relevant to an understanding of domestic violence.

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CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

As mentioned in the previous section, the present paper employs a feminist perspective that addresses sociocultural factors related to domestic violence and wife beating. Following the feminist perspective, the present literature review will explore the concept of patriarchy and how it may present one of the contexts in which wife beating takes place. I will then discuss gender roles and women's objectification as one way of maintaining patriarchal beliefs and practices.

Patriarchy

Dobash and Dobash (1979) assert that the history of wife beating must be understood within the larger historical context of a patriarchal ideology where wife beating was but one way of maintaining male dominance within the society as well as within the home. In defining the concept of patriarchy they use the terms patriarchal structure and patriarchal ideology. According to them, the patriarchal structure consists of a hierarchical organization of social institutions where certain individuals or groups are accorded a higher status in the hierarchy and certain other individuals or groups are

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relegated to a lower or lesser status. Furthermore, the social relations between these various groups are governed by the same hierarchies, so that those lower in hierarchy are subordinate and deferent to those in the higher strata, while the nature of the interaction between the two ensures that the status quo of the hierarchy is maintained (Dobash & Dobash, 1979, p.43).

The authors go on to assert that the patriarchal structure is accompanied by an ideology that perpetuates the cultural acceptance of patriarchal beliefs. According to Dobash and Dobash, one essential part of this ideology is the "hierarchical relationship between the husband and wife..." which "...continues to be the foundation of male supremacy and of the subordination of women in the society and in the marriage" (1979, p. 45). The patriarchal system in the society and within the family delineates the women's role in terms of their duties and obligations to the family. This system ensures that women are not accorded the freedom and means to question or change the structure or the institutions that subordinate them. Dobash and Dobash (1979) discuss the historical evolution of wife beating within this patriarchal structure and ideology, dating back to the Middle Ages when laws allowed for the chastisement of a wife if she disobeyed her husband,

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committed adultery or became drunk in public.

Gerda Lerner (1986) defines patriarchy as "the manifestation and institutionalization of male dominance over women and children in the family and the extension of male dominance over women in society in general" (Lerner, 1986, p.239). She uses the term "paternalistic dominance" which she describes as "the relationship of a dominant group, considered superior, to a subordinate group, considered inferior, in which the dominance is mitigated by mutual obligations and reciprocal rights" (Lerner, 1986, p.239). Feminist writer and peace educator, Brigit Brock-Utne defines patriarchy as "a form of social organization founded on the force-based ranking of the male half of humanity over the female half. Patriarchy has to do with *power over* other people, mostly power to control women and nature" (1989, p.29).

In the present writer's view, the above definitions imply three basic themes:

(a) A top down structure with one group having power over the other: hence it creates a social hierarchy which is characterized by dominance of one group and subjugation of the other. Access to sociopolitical, educational, or economic resources is manipulated, controlled or denied lest they become tools for change for the group in the

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lower status of the hierarchy;

(b) A distinct way of relating between the groups which has direct relevance to the maintenance of this structure. Power and control are the key characteristics in the dynamics between the two;

(c) The male or the patriarch holds the power over the female or children of the family or in the society. Thus the social hierarchy, dominance and power define the interaction between men and women and particularly between heterosexual spouses. However, this domination may be extended to other disenfranchised groups such as ethnic, racial, or religious minorities or indigent people (including males and females). Also, at times, those who are not from the dominant group may be allowed in the dominant group, so long as they support the patriarchal ideology. A case in example may be Benazir Bhutto, the first woman prime minister of Pakistan. Bhutto, by virtue of being a woman, represented an oppressed class. However, her use and abuse of her political power to oppress the masses reinforced feudal and patriarchal practices exercised by her male predecessors as well as her successors since her removal from power.

Another way of understanding the patriarchal system is through the concept of Social Dominance Orientation

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proposed by Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, and Malle (1994). According to Pratto et al. (1994), a Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) is a belief system that categorizes people and groups of people into hierarchies "along a superior-inferior dimension" (1994, p. 742). Consistent with this belief system are what Pratto et al. call "legitimizing myths" (1994, p. 742)-- ideologies, opinions, beliefs and norms which assign high social value to the superior/dominant group and low social value to the inferior group. By assigning differential social value to various groups, these myths are then used to justify the dominance-submission relationship between the groups. Additionally, the roles ascribed to people in respective groups are aimed at perpetuating the inequality between the groups (Pratto et al., 1994; Sidanius, Pratto, & Rabinowitz, 1994).

Thus the two main features of the patriarchal system are a) a belief in dominance of one group over another (Lerner, 1986; Pratto et al., 1994), and b) a belief in men's superiority and dominance over women (Dobash & Dobash, 1979). The following sections will take a closer look at each one of these aspects.

Patriarchy and Social Control

The system of patriarchy seems a likely framework for

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setting the stage for violence because patriarchal structures, as noted above, inherently carry an ideology that dictates power and domination of the oppressed (Lerner, 1986). It dictates beliefs and promotes indoctrination of an ideology that it is natural for one group to be socially dominant over another (Lerner, 1986). It also dictates that one could resort to any means to stay powerful and use any means to keep the subordinated group in their place and under control (Brock-Utne, 1985).

Charlene Spretnak (1983) presents a cogent argument for patriarchal beliefs as being part of the cultural forces that engender war and militarism. According to her, the concepts of social dominance and hierarchies are inherent in a patriarchal belief system and engender the need to maintain the dominance to ensure power and control. Spretnak contends that the patriarchal system promotes competitiveness and aggressiveness as masculine traits, and the very act of war comes to represent manhood. She states that part of the exercise of social dominance "is dehumanizing 'the other' - women, people of color, or foreign nations - and idealizing oneself" (1983, p.106). Hence not only is physical force idealized as manly, but anything that is seen as feminine, for example sensitivity, is seen as antithetical to being a man (1983, p. 109). So

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in the case of genders, a patriarchal belief system not only creates a distance between the sexes but also devalues the women and allots them a lower status in the hierarchy. Where maintenance of domination is the norm and women are seen as possessing a low status, using force to keep them in that place would be consistent with the ideology of patriarchy and may be deemed the natural order of things.

Brock-Utne, in her book *Educating for Peace: A Feminist Perspective* (1985), discusses the importance of understanding the patriarchal system and how it incorporates a system of war within its ideology of power and dominance. According to her, "The state of patriarchy is the state of war" (1985, p. 75) where both represent an ideology based upon dominance and where war, destruction, exploitation and oppression appear to be the natural order of things. She also discusses the insidious nature of the patriarchal system where both men and women are socialized to perpetuate these ideologies. (The role of gender socialization will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter). She draws a comparison between "the ideal mother" and "the ideal soldier", stating that both are socialized "to take orders from men who have more power and a higher status than they and to sacrifice their lives for others who are judged more important" (1985, p.82).

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Like Spretnak, Brock-Utne sees the militarism as conceptually similar to a patriarchal family because both include a strictly hierarchical organization, with emphasis on obedience to the authority and on punishment for disobedience. She then goes on to draw a parallel between militarism and sexism, stating that both are "built on power and oppression. Militarism is a belief system emerging from a world view founded on the basic assumption that human beings are by nature violent, aggressive, and competitive, and...that social order must be maintained by force" (1985, p. 83). She contends that the very culture of the military training is a practice of devaluing and degrading anything that is feminine, assigning an inferior status to women, and thus reinforcing the inequality between the sexes.

Research shows that a warlike mentality probably goes hand in hand with patriarchal beliefs. Criss and Johnson (1989) studied four measures of patriarchy; dominance, instrumentalism, hierarchy and traditional masculinity, and how they were related to acceptance of war and peace. One hundred and fifty male and female adults in the Southern California area were given questionnaires where items were measured on a seven point Likert scale. For the purpose of their study, hierarchy was defined as "beliefs about the

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necessity of structures where people dominate, or control others" (1989, p. 9); instrumentalism looked at how much people valued things based upon their usefulness; dominance was measured by looking at beliefs about men's domination over women. Beliefs about traditional masculinity were measured by using the Brannon and Juni Masculinity Scale (1983), which included four different dimensions of traditional male roles. The questionnaires also included items that measured attitudes towards war and peace.

Their results indicated that beliefs in instrumentalism, traditional masculine roles, dominance and hierarchy were all positively correlated with each other and represented a single factor which was termed "patriarchy". Additionally, acceptance of patriarchal beliefs was negatively related to acceptance of peace (Criss & Johnson, 1989).

As mentioned above, a patriarchal system is characterized by control and dominance over the 'other', i.e., the devalued, the enemy, even if it means going to war. Since females are assigned a lower status in this system, they may be seen as subject to the same control and dominance at home and in the society at large. According to Brock-Utne, one such expression of patriarchal dominance is "men's control over women's labor power" (1989, p.29),

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whereby women have restricted access to economic resources, and men's control over women's sexuality, where women's functionality is defined by their sexual and reproductive roles within the home. The power allowed to men and the control exercised by men over women's lives and their bodies is central to the power differential between the sexes (Brock-Utne, 1989). I propose that the patriarchal mandate to exercise dominance over women, when accompanied by an approval to use force presents a prime setting for domestic violence and wife beating.

Patriarchal Beliefs and Wife Beating

Michael Smith (1990) draws a distinction between social patriarchy and familial patriarchy, where the former refers to men's dominance in the society in general and the latter refers to male control within the family. Brock-Utne (1989), however, sees the two as inseparable. Quoting the seminal feminist treatise of Marilyn French, Brock-Utne states that the "personal is political". According to Brock-Utne, sexual inequality within the home is related to and is reflective of the power differential between the sexes in the society at large. She states that a true feminist approach to understanding men's control and violence must take into account an analysis of patriarchy and the "*cultural systems* that create *male solidarity*" in

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the domination of women (1989, p.31). Indeed most feminist perspectives do not differentiate between social and familial patriarchy and in fact underscore the importance of understanding the larger social, structural and systemic forces that contextualize wife beating.

Demie Kurz (1989) outlines some of the basic tenets of a feminist perspective of wife abuse. First, the feminist perspective views gender inequality as the core of wife abuse where domestic violence is seen primarily as one way to control women. This is different from the family violence perspective to wife abuse (presented by Gelles & Straus, 1988), which sees sexism as one factor responsible for family violence, among others such as unemployment, financial pressures, and exposure to violence in the family of origin. In fact the mere term wife battering, employed by feminists, instead of the term family violence or domestic violence, indicates that the nature of this violence is gender based. This is different from other perspectives that address wife abuse under the umbrella of family violence or spouse abuse, a practice that obscures the nature and magnitude of men's violence towards their intimate partners. Second, the feminist perspective looks at the larger structural and institutional aspects of society which have historically condoned and perpetuated

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men's violence against women (Kurz, 1989). The institution of marriage becomes one such institution that has legitimated and condoned wife abuse. The division of labor within the marriage has historically promoted women's dependence on men, which has compounded the control their husbands had over them. The feminist perspective also looks at other major social institutions, such as the legal system, and how they have historically ignored or condoned the existence of wife abuse.

One oft cited thesis of this feminist perspective is the work of R. Emerson Dobash and Russell Dobash. In their seminal work *Violence Against Wives* (1979), Dobash and Dobash present a "case against patriarchy" by looking at the historical evolution and the contemporary state of men's violence against their female partners in the western societies. Their research, based upon in-depth interviews with battered wives and male batterers, indicated that incidents of wife beating tended to occur due to the man's sexual jealousy, or his perceptions that the wife did not carry out her domestic duties, because the wife/partner answered him back or argued with him, or because she did not take care of his immediate needs and thereby challenged his position and authority in the household.

Dobash and Dobash (1979) asserted that rather than be

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analyzed as discrete incidents, these confrontations needed to be understood within the context of the couple's ongoing relationship and "the wider patterns of subordination and domination in the marriage and in the expectations of the men and women involved" (1979, p.102). According to the authors, these expectations were based on the perpetrator's belief that he had rights and privileges as the head of the household. As such, he had the right to have his needs be met by his partner and the violation of this right could lead to verbal or physical abuse of the female partner. These rights and privileges were not extended to the partners themselves, who the batterer believed he had a claim on. The batterers also tended to "view other people as objects to be exploited in their attempts to meet their own need" (1979, p.104). These descriptions of the perpetrators' world view and perceptions sound very similar to the descriptions of patriarchy mentioned earlier in this chapter and can be used to support the thesis that the study of patriarchal context is central to understanding wife beating.

Michael Smith (1990) studied the relationship between patriarchal beliefs, approval of violence against wives, and wife beating. His subjects were 640 women who were randomly selected and interviewed over the phone. These

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women were either currently married or living with a man or had done so in the last two years. Respondents were asked a series of questions to assess the occurrence of wife beating (defined by physical assault resulting in serious injury, measured by the Conflicts Tactics Scale) and to assess their husbands'/partners' adherence to patriarchal beliefs and their approval of violence against wives. The latter two were measures of the women's perception of what their partners would respond. For example, they were asked how they thought their partners would respond (on a four-point scale) to items such as "a man has the right to decide whether or not his wife/partner should work outside the home" (husband's patriarchal beliefs) and "would your husband/partner approve of a man slapping his wife if...she won't do what he tells her to do" (approval of violence against wives). His results showed that women who reported/perceived their husbands/partners to hold more patriarchal beliefs and to approve of violence against women were also likely to report having been physically assaulted by them. Hence the wives' perception of their husbands' patriarchal beliefs were found to be significantly and positively related to their husbands' violence towards them. While this study provides empirical and quantitative support to the feminist

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perspective on wife abuse, I do wonder if the fact that a respondent was beaten by her partner influenced her perception of him, i.e., he beat me up, therefore he must approve of violence and must have patriarchal beliefs.

Kersti Yllo (1984) addressed the necessity of studying the larger social and structural context of wife beating by studying the relationship between women's status in different states, marital equality or inequality, and wife beating. The structural sexual inequality was measured by comparing how women were faring as a group in the economic, political, educational and legal arenas in their respective states. For example, in order to measure the political index of economic status of women in a given state, Yllo (1984) looked at the percentage of women in the labor force, number of women in professional, technical and managerial jobs, percentage of unemployed women versus percentage of unemployed males, and their median income versus median income of men in their states. Similarly, women's political status in a given status was measured by looking at the percentage of female members in the US congress, state senate and state house for that state as well as the percentage of female judges in major appellate and trial courts.

The resulting indices from the different states were

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used to determine the low, to moderately low, to moderately high to high status of women in the different states. Next, marital inequality was measured by the relative decision making power that the wife and husband had in each marital dyad. Wife beating was measured by using the Conflicts Tactics Scale where items reflecting only the more severe forms of physical abuse were used. Results from a sample of 2143 adults, where over 98% were married, indicated the lowest occurrence of violence in families with marital equality, where decision making was either shared or divided between the spouses. Conversely, households where women had greater decision making power over their husbands, evidenced greater incidence of wife abuse, while the greatest number of wife beatings occurred in households where men were the dominant decision makers. Hence, marital inequality in either direction was related to wife beating.

Bringing structural context in the picture, Yllo's study showed that a moderately high or high structural/social status of women coupled with marital inequality in form of a male dominant household showed the highest rate of wife beating. Incidentally, wife beating also occurred in wife dominant households in states where women had low structural/societal status. Yllo posited

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that this was due to the inconsistency between the societal norm (structural status of women) and interpersonal power (sexual equality or inequality between couples), her results validating that the sociocultural context plays an important role in the occurrence of domestic violence (Yllo, 1984).

Dutton (1994a), in his critique of feminist perspectives on patriarchy and wife assault, proposes that holding patriarchy (or patriarchal beliefs) responsible for wife assault is an indication of "ecological fallacy" (Dutton, 1994a, p.168). He states that by using a single category of patriarchy as the root of wife assault, the feminist scholars overlook other individual and social factors which may all interact to bring about violence between intimate partners. He goes on to state that if patriarchal beliefs were the cause of wife battering, then a majority of the men would be wife beaters. Dutton sees individual psychopathology of perpetrators as a major factor in wife beating. He concludes that patriarchy does not directly lead to wife beating but "may provide the values and attitudes that personality-disordered men can exploit to justify their abuse of women" (1994a, p. 176).

As mentioned in the previous chapter, informal surveys in Pakistan have yielded high estimates of domestic

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violence (Constable, 2000; Fikree & Bhatti, 1999; "Honour Killings", 1999). Following Dutton's argument, this would mean that a great majority of Pakistani men are "personality-disordered". Since numerous cases of domestic violence in South Asia also include extended family members as perpetrators (Amnesty International, 1998; Hassan, 1995; Lateef, 1999), one could also surmise that these family members represented groups of disordered personalities. However, I believe that while individual psychopathology may be relevant in some of these cases, a more parsimonious approach would be to look at the larger belief systems which allow wife abuse to occur and perpetuate, at individual, familial, structural and societal level. This is not to say that cultural beliefs such as patriarchy are the only explanations of domestic violence and wife abuse. Indeed, individual, familial, or sociocultural factors may also have a direct bearing on domestic violence (Dutton, 1994b; Gelles & Straus, 1988; Hastings & Hamberger, 1988; Hotaling & Sugarman, 1986; Walker, 1978). However, as the following research shows, patriarchal beliefs, and beliefs about dominance and power may influence how people view violence towards women.

Twohy (1995) studied the relationships among acceptance of interpersonal violence, hierarchical power,

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male stereotypes and nonviolent conflict resolution. She defined hierarchical power as "the acceptance of coercion or force...to achieve one's goals" and male stereotypes as a belief in "males having innate hierarchical power over others" (1995, pp. 52, 53). Acceptance of interpersonal violence was measured by assessing attitudes towards violence against women, and nonviolent conflict resolution was defined as a belief in nonviolent methods in resolving international conflicts (Twohy, 1995). One hundred and thirty two men and women ranging from ages 18-76 completed questionnaires with 109 items to assess attitudes regarding the above mentioned variables. She found significant relationships between attitudes about violence against women, male role stereotypes and hierarchical power. According to her results, there was a positive relationship between acceptance of violence towards women and acceptance of male role stereotypes and hierarchical power and a negative relationship between these variables and the acceptance of nonviolent conflict resolution. In other words the more the participants endorsed items reflecting acceptance of violence towards women, the more likely were they to endorse items reflecting acceptance of male stereotypes and acceptance of hierarchical power and the more likely they were to reject the notion of nonviolent

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conflict resolution. She posited that beliefs in holding power over (hierarchy) and male role stereotypes may be important issues when understanding violence against women.

Similarly, Beneventi (1996) studied the interrelationships between such beliefs as acceptance of a social dominance orientation, acceptance of power differential between men and women, acceptance of interpersonal violence and the acceptance of violence towards women. Her results from a sample of 100 male and female respondents indicated positive and significant relationships between all the measures, where an acceptance of a social dominance orientation explained 51% of variance in the acceptance of violence towards women.

Research shows that the relationship between patriarchy and violence towards women is probably a complex one, involving several different factors, rather than a simple linear one. Haj-Yahia's (1998) study illustrates this point well. He studied patriarchal beliefs about wife beating among 459 Palestinian men. He treated the following as predictor variables-- attitudes towards women, sex role stereotypes, sexual conservatism, religiosity, familial patriarchy beliefs, and marital role expectations. The criterion variables in his study included justification of wife beating, holding the violent husbands responsible

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for their behavior, and blaming the wife for the violence against her. His results showed that 41% of his respondents strongly agreed or agreed with the statement that there was no excuse for a man to beat his wife, and 66% strongly agreed or agreed that no man has a right to beat his wife "even if she breaks agreements she has made with him". However, the same respondents approved of wife beating in specific situations. For example, 71% approved of wife beating if the wife had been sexually unfaithful, and 57% approved of wife beating if the wife had insulted her husband in front of his friends. Additionally, respondents' level of education, marital role expectations, familial patriarchal beliefs, and attitudes towards women, significantly accounted for 43% of the variance in justification of wife beating.

In addition to providing a backdrop for acceptance, tolerance or justification for wife abuse, acceptance of patriarchal beliefs as evidenced by sex role attitudes may also influence how the society responds to victims of wife abuse. For example, studies suggest that response to victims of wife assault among pastors (Alsdurf, 1985) and physicians (Easteal & Easteal, 1992) may be related to the respondents' conservative or "patriarchally-informed attitude" (Alsdurf, 1985, p.9). Hence it makes sense to

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study beliefs regarding such issues as social dominance, sex role expectations and patriarchal ideology because they may serve both to set the stage for violence towards women as well as to impact how people respond to the violence, once it has occurred. Chapter 3 and 4 of this dissertation will broaden the discussion on patriarchy, by looking at patriarchal beliefs and practices in the Pakistani society.

Gender Roles and Gender Inequality

As discussed in the previous section, hierarchies based on class, race or gender define a patriarchal structure and this structure is sustained by a patriarchal ideology (Dobash & Dobash, 1979). One of the ways this ideology is expressed is through socialization of people where people may be ascribed or proscribed roles, behaviors, expectations based upon their membership in a given group, be it class, race or gender. These social prescriptions may then determine the interaction amongst people with the goal of maintaining the status quo (Brock-Utne, 1985). If a patriarchal ideology dictates that men are higher in the hierarchy than women, then socialization of gender roles may be seen as the vehicle, which translates this ideology into behaviors.

Jean Lipman-Blumen, in her book *Gender Roles and Power*

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(1984) differentiates between sex roles and gender roles. According to her, sex roles are behaviors related to the biological sexual differences such as pregnancy in women and seminal ejaculation in men. Gender roles are the socially defined behaviors and expectations that are ascribed to men and women based upon their sex. They define as well as represent what is considered masculine and what is seen as feminine. For example, men are expected to be the providers in the family, women are expected to do the child rearing. These are socially created roles rather than mandated by biology, because a woman has the capacity to be the provider of her family and a man has the capacity to raise children.

Lipman-Blumen (1984) states that the two concepts of sex roles and gender roles are interwoven. She calls it the "sex-gender system" where "biological sex-roles and socially generated gender roles are braided together into a structured set of relationships" (1984, p.2). An example would be the belief that because women are the ones to give birth (sex role), they are also biologically destined for child rearing (gender role). Hence one's sex and biology is used to validate socially constructed concepts. In the sex-gender system, biological differences are magnified to legitimate gender roles and similarities between the sexes

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are minimized.

Lipman-Blumen (1984) goes on to state that the sex-gender system allocates different roles, positions, and responsibilities to men and women. Accordingly, women's labor is traditionally allocated within the home while men's labor is supposed to take place out side the home, which gives them access to other major social institutions such as the political and economic spheres. This in turn allows men greater access and control of society's resources. Additionally, men's roles, their position, their responsibilities, and their social attributes are assigned greater social value than those assigned to women. For example, the western society values the socially defined "masculine" attributes of aggressiveness, independence, and dominance over the "feminine" attributes of nurturance or dependency. The difference in access to social, economic, political resources, as well as the different values assigned to the gender roles converge to create a strong power differential between the sexes.

Lipman-Blumen (1984) defines power as "the process whereby individuals or groups gain or maintain the capacity to impose their will upon others, to have their way recurrently, despite implicit or explicit opposition, through invoking or threatening punishment, as well as

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offering or withholding rewards" (1984, p. 6). Her use of the word 'process' implies that power is a dynamic force rather than static. Within the sex-gender system, this force becomes the central feature in the interactions and dynamics between the genders. Additionally, the whole process of socialization of genders becomes an exercise in maintaining this power differential (Lipman-Blumen, 1984).

As noted in the earlier section, if one looks at gender stratification as part of patriarchal ideology, then it follows that women, being lower in the social and familial hierarchy will be seen as the 'other'-- the devalued, the one to be controlled and conquered (Brock-Utne, 1985; Spretnak, 1983). It would also follow that gender socialization aims at maintaining this power differential, assigning masculine and feminine roles which complement the power dance. Gillian Walker and Virginia Goldner (1995) illustrate this point in their discussion of gender roles and how they are played out in intimate violence. They give examples of historical, mythical and literary figures where women are depicted as mothers, daughters, wives or lovers who are passive, altruistic, self-sacrificing, caregivers and whose task is to nurture the men in their lives. Additionally, women who challenge these social prescriptions or live a life style that is

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against the prescriptions, (for example seeking or claiming social, sexual or intellectual power) are considered threatening and are castigated by society. Similarly, men are depicted as either heroes, out to conquer the world, or as vulnerable " wounded prince(s)" (1995, p.24), entitled to women's caring and nurturing.

According to Walker and Goldner (1995), this polarity in images of men (aggressive dominator/vulnerable man-child) and women (nurturing/threatening) "play(s) a central role in rationalizing both violence and victimisation (*sic*)" (1995, p.27). Thus a man may beat his wife/partner because she was provocative, or disobeyed him, but may later turn to her as caretaker of his emotional needs. Similarly, his female partner may suffer from his psychological and physical aggression and dominance, but in the honeymoon phase, may forgive him for what she sees as his emotional vulnerability and helplessness.

Other theorists support Walker and Goldner's (1995) contention that gender roles and expectations set up the power structure in heterosexual relationships. Koss, Goodman, Browne, Fitzgerald, Keita, and Russo (1994) have examined the cultural context of male violence against women. They include gender and gender roles as one of the key players within this context and enumerate factors that

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come into play in perpetuation of genderization. These factors include cultural expectations, cultural myths and sexual scripts, which set up an unequal dynamic between the sexes. The expectation from a man to be dominant, from a woman to be submissive "eroticizes sexual inequality and supports male dominance as normal and natural" (Koss et al., 1994, p.9).

Although Koss et al. (1994) do not express it, I believe their analysis also indicates a circular relationship between male violence towards women and gender inequality. One feeds on the other. Socialization validates gender inequality and dictates that men behave and be viewed as powerful, dominant, instrumental, and that the women's appropriate place is to be passive, submissive, subjugated; this romanticizes and validates male violence towards women. And as long as male violence is culturally sanctioned, gender inequality is perpetuated.

Empirical data supports the correlation between acceptance of traditional gender role attitudes and acceptance of men's violence towards their wives. For example, Finn (1986) studied the relationship between gender role attitudes and attitudes towards marital violence. His measures comprised of two subscales; a five-point subscale with seven items measured sex role

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attitudes, where traditional sex role attitudes reflected an acceptance of the husband as higher in the familial hierarchy and the major decision-maker of the family. Attitudes towards marital violence were measured by a five-item subscale with a five-point scale, where items reflected husbands' use of physical force against their wives. The questionnaires were administered to 300 college students, including males and females, Caucasians and African Americans. His results showed that male students tended to accept traditional sex role attitudes more than the female students did and that Caucasians tended to show greater acceptance of traditional sex roles than African Americans did. However, in all groups, acceptance of traditional sex role attitudes (for example the man should be the head of the house) was strongly and significantly correlated to acceptance of physical force by husbands towards their wives. Conversely, those who scored lower on the traditional sex role attitudes subscale (reflecting more egalitarian sex role attitudes), were also likely to show the least acceptance of the husband's aggression towards his wife (Finn, 1986). I believe that behind this apparently simplistic and linear correlation are complex set of beliefs about men's and women's place at home and, because the personal is also the political (Brock-Utne,

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1989), in society. It is a mind set about power and power differential; about men's entitlement in family unit; and the legitimacy of violence to assert one's 'rightful' hegemony.

To summarize what I have discussed so far, gender roles and gender stratification lock men and women into behaviors and images that repeat the messages of patriarchy. Gender socialization teaches that it is natural and normal for men to be dominant and aggressive and for women to be passive and submissive. It asserts that the greater social value of men and their contribution to society (even if it is war and violence) accords them power and control and entitles them to women's subservience and to their sexual and emotional service. Gender roles assert not only what men and women ought to be but also what they ought not to be, so that those who transgress the gender based norms are socially and at times physically sanctioned. Wife abuse may be seen as one such scenario where emotional or physical abuse may be used either to reinforce power or to regain it if challenged by the wife's perceived transgressions of her role.

As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, a system of patriarchy includes dehumanization and objectification of the other so that the act and process of

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domination of and aggression towards the other becomes possible. Gender role socialization may achieve this goal of dehumanizing the female sex by narrowing her role and her image to her sexuality and her reproductive capabilities. In the following section I will discuss how women's objectification may contribute to their oppression and how this objectification may be related to occurrence or acceptance of violence towards women.

Objectification and Commodification of Women

Objectification of women here refers to treating women, their bodies or their persons as objects. Commodification may be seen as a related concept which takes objectification one step further and turns women into commodities that may be traded, damaged or destroyed as pawns for financial gains or to settle personal vendettas. The following section presents literature on the concepts of objectification and commodification of women in the western society. In the following chapter, I will look at objectification and commodification of women in Pakistan.

Objectification of Women

Feminist thinkers have looked at objectification of women, specifically sexual objectification of women in the western societies, as a key element in maintaining

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oppression of women (Bartky, 1990; Fredrickson & Robertson, 1997; Kaschak, 1992). According to Sandra Lee Bartky (1990), "A person is sexually objectified when her sexual parts or sexual functions are separated out from the rest of her personality and reduced to the status of mere instruments or else regarded as if they were capable of representing her." (1990, p. 26). She states that sexual objectification becomes oppressive when the identification of the person with her body permeates into every aspect of her life. Hence the woman is perceived through the lens of her body and its functions, be it at home or at work, in private or in public. Bartky calls this identification of women's personhood with their bodies "fragmenting perception", in that "the objectifying perception... splits a person into parts (and) serves to elevate one interest above another" (1990, p. 27) as in elevating her physical and sexual self above other aspects of her person. Inherent in this sexual objectification is the presence of what Bartky calls "the one who objectifies and the one who is objectified" (1990, p. 27). In other words there is an observer and the observed.

However, women may become observers of their own selves, viewing their selves as objects to be observed and looked at by others. This self-objectification leads to a

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preoccupation in women with their bodies and their appearance. This is coupled with cultural messages that women must adhere to a certain shape, size, or style, in order to fit the feminine ideal. Hence, not only is the female existence reduced to her body and it's appearance but also she is told that her body is "...never sufficient unto itself, stands forever in need of plucking or painting, of slimming down or fattening up, of firming or flattening." (Bartky, 1990, p. 29). This constant consciousness of being looked at and viewing themselves as objects from the observer's perspective may lead women to a state of alienation from the self. The process of objectification separates or alienates her from the very culture that defines her femininity, since her femininity is defined *for* her (Bartky, 1990).

Fredrickson and Roberts (1997) have proposed the Objectification Theory that looks specifically at sexual objectification of women and how women's bodies are treated within the sociocultural context in the American society. Objectification theory looks at the way the American culture promotes objectification of women's bodies by treating the body as if it represents the woman as a person. According to them, the crux of all sexual objectification is "the experience of being treated *as a*

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body (or collection of body parts) valued predominantly for its use to (or consumption by) others" (1997, p. 174).

Fredrickson and Roberts (1997) contend that this attitude towards women and their bodies is internalized in women through socialization whereby women learn to treat their own bodies as objects to be viewed and evaluated. Women begin to view themselves from the perspective of an observer and become preoccupied with their appearance and their sense of self and self-image becomes closely related to their body image. Objectification theory focuses on the way this self-objectification subjects women and girls to greater mental health risks. Hence when the body image is so closely related to a women's sense of self, failing to come up to the socially prescribed ideal may lead to poor sense of self and to feelings of shame and anxiety. Fredrickson and Roberts propose that self objectification in women may lead to higher incidences of depression, sexual dysfunctions and eating disorders (1997). Indeed, research shows that self-objectification may be linked to reports of greater body shame as well as to reports of bulimic and anorectic symptoms (Noll & Fredrickson, 1998).

In addition to affecting women's sense of self, feminist writers have looked at objectification of women as part of the larger patriarchal system (Bartky, 1990;

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Dworkin, 1981; Johnson, 1997) where the "male-centered", "male-identified" culture of patriarchy promotes masculinity as the standard of what is good, human, and desirable, while women and femininity become the antithesis of that standard, thereby asserting the 'otherness' of women (Johnson, 1997, p. 5). Thus it is easier to control, dominate and devalue that which is the other, the 'lesser' being (Brock-Utne, 1989; Johnson, 1997).

Allan G. Johnson (1997) speaks of how men are socialized to:

> follow the patriarchal paths of organizing their lives around control. This not only sets men up to expect absurd levels of control in their own lives, it also deeply affects how they experience others and themselves. The more that men pursue control and judge themselves by their success at it, the more they experience everyone and everything outside themselves as objects (1997, p. 204).

According to Johnson, this objectification leads to a disconnection from the experience and needs of the objectified; their "subjectness" (1997, p. 204).

Whether the process of objectification leads to self-alienation in women or to men's alienation from women's subjective experience, it can affect how men and women

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relate to each other interpersonally and intimately. Ronald Levant speaks of men's "non relational sexuality" which he defines as "the tendency to experience sex as lust without any requirement for relational intimacy" (1997, p. 10) and which leads to a tendency in men to objectify the focus of their sexual desires or to use of actual objects (pornography) as a way for sexual satisfaction.

According to Levant (1997), nonrelational sexuality in men is a result of men's socialization to restrain or control emotions, show stoicism and avoid intimacy; attributes which are important to pursue and maintain control and power in a patriarchal set up. Levant sees men's nonrelational sexuality as a continuum ranging from occasional "unconnected lust" (1997, p. 14) to sexual harassment, to womanizing, to use of pornography or paraphernalia, all the way to sexual aggression and sexual violence such as rape or child molestation. One aspect of nonrelational sexuality is emotional disconnection from the self such that men may not experience or enjoy emotional intimacy, as well a disconnection from the other's experience or feelings, which strengthens the view of the other as an object (Levant, 1997).

Another concept complementary to Levant's view is the "Centerfold Syndrome" proposed by Gary R. Brooks (1997).

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Brooks uses the term "Centerfold Syndrome" to describe what he calls the "constellation of attitudes and behaviors" related to men's sexuality (1997, p.30). He defines the Centerfold Syndrome as having five distinct features. These are: (a) a tendency for voyeurism (looking at or gazing at women's bodies), (b) objectification of women and their bodies, (c) masculinity validation (using women's bodies and their sexual responses as ways to validate virility and sense of masculinity) (d) trophyism (competing with other men by "scoring" with women or adding on to sexual conquests) and (e) the fear of true intimacy (Brooks, 1997).

Thus the existing feminist psychological literature indicates that objectification of women may be inherent in the very definition of the concepts of masculinity and femininity. These notions of masculinity and femininity are then reinforced by cultural messages through the media. For example, theorists and researchers have examined the way pornography promotes dehumanized, degraded images of women as sexual objects and romanticizes and glorifies men's domination and aggression against women (Donnerstein, Linz & Penrod, 1987; Dworkin, 1981; Malamuth & Donnerstein, 1984). Additionally, research shows that men who are exposed to media depictions of sexual aggression against

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women may show greater aggression towards females as well as less sympathy for victims of sexual violence (Donnerstein & Berkowitz, 1981; Nelson, 1982).

Commodification of Women

While there is substantial literature on objectification of women, there is scant literature on their commodification. However, some psychological literature looks at student organizations on college campuses as an organized way of objectifying and commodifying female students. Mindy Stombler (1994) did an in depth study of college fraternities. She did open ended interviews with 21 female students who were little sisters at different Greek fraternities. Little sisters are female students affiliated with men's Greek fraternities and serve the purpose of being supporters of the fraternity brothers and of being hostesses at their social events. In addition to the interview, Stombler also participated as an observer at several social events of these fraternities and researched various official reports and newspaper articles regarding the fraternities' activities.

Stombler reported that the female students were typically invited to be little sisters based upon their physical beauty and social popularity. The fraternity would use the little sisters to solicit other desirable

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(popular) male students to be part of the fraternity. This included publishing pictures of the little sisters in bathing suits in the fraternity's publicity brochures to lure the potential candidates or asking the sisters to entertain the potential candidates at fraternity events/parties by serving them drinks, dancing with them or flirting with them. Most sisters would also be expected to engage in sex with the fraternity brothers. Stombler reported that the fraternity with the prettiest sisters and with the greatest number of little sisters would typically be the most popular one, since the potential candidates were given the message that they would have sexual access to the little sisters. Despite their services and affiliation to the fraternity, the sisters were not considered full members of the organization and had no place or say in the policies or official meetings of these organizations. Stombler also reported high prevalence of sexual assault and gang rape of women in fraternity organizations (1994).

Martin and Hummer (1993) have made similar observations regarding commodification of women at college fraternities where women are used "…as bait for new members, as servers of brothers' needs, and as sexual prey" (1993, p. 123). According to them, the subculture of

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fraternities is based on ideas of traditional masculinity, including male dominance, competitiveness, sexual prowess, and on traditional ideas about women's role as providing personal and sexual service to the brothers. They see this subculture as central to commodification of the little sisters and to the high prevalence of sexual assault within the fraternities (Martin & Hummer, 1993).

Other writers have looked at the act of sexual assault and rape as an act of objectification in itself, in that rape is often committed as a means to an end. Hence rape is often used as a means to punish the woman or someone the woman represents, or to establish power and dominance, or merely for the sake of enjoyment. Additionally, in cultures where women are considered property of their men, rape is often used as a form of revenge against male adversaries (Scully & Marolla, 1993).

Thus, as the above mentioned account relates, the social construction of gender roles along with cultural images of women have lead to objectification and commodification of women. This is evidenced by self objectification in women where they learn to view their selves and their bodies from the perspective of the male gaze (Bartky, 1990; Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997) and by the attitudes of men who are socialized to view women as

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vehicles through which their power and their masculinity can be affirmed (Brooks, 1997; Levant, 1997). At the personal level such objectification makes women vulnerable to depression, anxiety, and eating disorders (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997; Noll & Fredrickson, 1998). At the interpersonal level, it creates alienation between the sexes (Levant, 1997) and influences the dynamics between the sexes as the female is seen as the 'other', her humanness and her experiences overshadowed by her image of an object (Johnson, 1995). At the sociocultural level, objectification and commodification of women sets up a context for oppression of women (Bartky, 1990; Kaschak, 1992) and for increased sexual violence against them (Dworkin, 1981; Martin & Hummer, 1993).

Although the existing literature does not offer a differentiation between objectification and commodification of women, I propose that while objectification is seen as reducing a woman to her physical or sexual aspect, commodification may be seen as using women and their sexuality to *represent something else*. She may represent a man's virility, his honor, or the status of a fraternity. In the case of commodification, there is no concept of the woman's self at all, she stands for something else, her body or her sexuality represents something outside of

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herself.

Summary

In this chapter I presented an overview of literature on those aspects of culture, which may be related in some way or the other, to the occurrence and /or acceptance of wife beating. Taking on a feminist perspective, I asserted that the history of wife beating must be examined within the context of patriarchy (Dobash & Dobash, 1979). A system of patriarchy is based on a hierarchical structure maintained by an ideology of dominance and control of one group over other (Lerner, 1986; Pratto et al., 1994). Such a system may be evident at various levels including structural (government bodies or organizations), interpersonal (individuals or groups of individuals) or even international (how a superpower may relate to a third world country). Inherent in the system of domination are the act and/or process of dehumanizing the oppressed so that their 'otherness' justifies their devaluation and hence their lower status (Johnson, 1997). Use of force and violence may be deemed necessary to keep the oppressed 'in their place' (Spretnak, 1983). Indeed, research indicates that a patriarchal belief system may be related to a war like mentality (Criss & Johnson, 1989) as well as to

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acceptance of violence towards women (Beneventi, 1996; Haj-Yahia, 1998; Smith, 1990).

The marital or familial unit may be seen as the most basic prototype of a patriarchal system where men's dominance and control over women and children is seen as natural (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Lerner, 1986). In this section I discussed how gender role socialization may play a key part in maintaining the power differential between the sexes. By social prescriptions of certain roles, images, and behaviors assigned to men and women based upon their sex, where men's domination of women is viewed to be natural (Koss et al., 1994). Additionally, gender based role ascriptions create division of labor leading to unequal power in favor of men over women, reinforcing men's control over their female partners (Lipman-Blumen, 1984). Research bears out the correlation between gender inequality and violence towards women (Twohy, 1995) including wife abuse (Finn, 1986; Yllo, 1984).

Sexual objectification and commodification of women, an act of cultural violence in itself, further denigrates and devalues the female as a person (Bartky, 1990; Kaschak, 1992). This creates a circular loop within patriarchy because the fate of the devalued in a patriarchal system is to be oppressed. As I cited earlier in this section,

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objectification of women puts them at mental and physical health risks (Fredrickson & Robertson, 1997), as well as makes them a likely target for men's violence (Martin & Hummer, 1993; Stombler, 1994).

Thus the existing literature on patriarchy, gender roles and objectification of women, relates these concepts to violence towards women. I suggest that these be considered a form of cultural violence against women because they provide the ground for direct acts of physical, emotional and sexual aggression against women, both inside the home and outside of it. Most of the theoretical and empirical research mentioned in this chapter is based on the western societies. However, due to the dearth of theoretical or empirical study on domestic violence in Pakistan, some of the cultural correlates of wife beating in the western societies will be utilized to understand the phenomenon of wife beating in Pakistan.

In the following section, I will take the concepts of patriarchy, gender roles and commodification of women and examine them within the Pakistani culture. In using these concepts to address domestic violence in Pakistan, I will also discuss the ideology of the culture of honor, which appears to be related to numerous cases of domestic violence in the Pakistani society.

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CHAPTER III

CONCEPTUALIZING DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IN PAKISTAN

Thus far, I have discussed the structure and ideology inherent in a patriarchal belief system and how these may become the precedents to wife beating. However, the preceding discussion was based upon research and theory drawn primarily from the western societies. I will now present an analysis of patriarchy in Pakistan and how patriarchal structure and ideology are expressed in the social, political and religious institutions in the Pakistani society. This will be followed by an integration of the concepts discussed so far in order to offer a theoretical framework within which domestic violence and wife beating in Pakistan may be examined.

Patriarchy in Pakistan

An examination of customary and religious personal laws practiced in Pakistan today reveals that whereas those aspects of Muslim jurisprudence promoting the predominance of men have been widely accepted, Islam injunctions protecting or promoting the rights of women have been systematically rejected. Inversely, customs which contradict Islam but which ensure the supremacy of men have been accepted and continue to

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operate (Shaheed, 1991,p. 139).

This section will present information on the Pakistani culture and demonstrate that it is a society where patriarchal values and traditions are handed down generation to generation as core beliefs. A discussion of patriarchy in Pakistan necessitates a look at how religion has been used in Pakistan to validate and legitimate male dominance over women (Saigol, 1994; Zia, 1994). As Shaheed (1991) indicates, customs are confused with religion and religion itself is interpreted with the intent to maintain patriarchy. In such a set up, the Pakistani woman's role is rigidly defined and proscribed such that every aspect of her life, her options for education, her health, her rights and obligations, her choices and goals, all are determined for her by the society. Each one of these aspects serves to affirm the patriarchal structure (Shaheed, 1991).

The roots of the patriarchal structure of the Pakistani society can be dated back to Arab culture donning the cloak of the so-called male interpreted religion of Islam. Shaheen Sardar Ali, Associate Professor of Law at University of Peshawar, Pakistan, writes in her article "Misogynistic Trends in Islamic Jurisprudence: A Feminist Perspective":

...Early Muslim scholars...made great efforts to maintain

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> a non-discriminatory trend as envisaged by the prophet Muhammad. But the deep-rooted misogynistic attitudes of the Arabs very soon asserted itself among the *fuquha* (scholars of Muslim law) and that is why…one sees the resurgence of the superstitious fear of the femaleness that the prophet wanted to eradicate (Ali, S.S., 1993, p. 151).

Other writers have critiqued the heavy gender bias in the interpretation and use of Islamic ideology and jurisprudence to favor men's power and control over women (Hassan, 1991; Mernissi, 1987; Shaheed, 1991). When this misogynistic interpretation of Islam was introduced in South Asia, it took on numerous Hindu customs that prevailed in the Indian subcontinent, such as dowry and class system (Mandelbaum, 1988). Anthropologist David Mandelbaum, in his analysis of how these customs were incorporated in the Muslim culture of South Asia, gives one such example:

> The transfer of valuables, including money, by the bride's family to the groom's family is an ancient practice among Hindus. Muslim tradition required only that a bride bring a trousseau, an array of things to be worn and used by herself and the family in her new home… In recent years, however, the parents of an

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esteemed Muslim young man have been demanding and getting large dowry payments (Mandelbaum, 1988, p.66).

The analysis of patriarchy in Pakistan can be broadened by weaving in the indigenous culture of tribalism and feudalism, which thrived in the land even before the creation of Pakistan as a country, and which, added to the tradition of women's subjugation in the society (Niaz-Anwar, 1997). When Pakistan gained independence from India in 1947, it inherited a land that was predominantly agrarian and was dominated by a feudal system where a handful of landowning gentry held power over their farm/field workers and their families. The less populous, mountainous areas of the Northwest Frontier Province (NWFP) were inhabited by people who lived by their own rigid tribal codes (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987).

Both the feudal and the tribal systems are based upon the ideology of kinship, which is essentially patrilineal and hierarchical in structure. All the major social institutions such as the social, economic, political, and familial are based upon kinship. Most decisions, from political, to business, to personal ones such as marriage and inheritance, are based on loyalty to and continuity of the group (Safdar, 1997). In these kinship-based societies, which are just as prevalent today as they were

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fifty years ago, the feudal or tribal lord is the ultimate patriarch. He is the protector, the provider and the decision-maker for his clan, which includes the women and children of his own family as well as all the families of his clan, including men from the working class (Safdar, 1997). In exchange for his protection, the working class is expected to submit to the rule of the feudal/tribal lord.

Mumtaz and Shaheed (1987) present information on the impact of tribal codes and feudal system on women's lives. For example in the tribal areas, a female is considered to be the property of her male relatives, such as father, brother or uncle. She is considered to be a symbol of a male's honor, so that she must be "protected" and is literally kept within the four walls of her home. She is generally denied education and she has no say in major decisions of her life, such as marriage (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987).

As Mumtaz and Shaheed (1987) indicate, in the feudal culture of rural areas as well, a woman is considered a man's property and a symbol of his honor. However she is less restricted and is often seen working in the fields along with her male relatives. A woman in the rural areas works between fourteen to sixteen hours a day. Not only

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does she assume all the household responsibilities, such as cooking, cleaning, laundering, taking care of children, husband, parents etc., she also is responsible for any livestock the family may own. Additionally, she works in the fields along with her husband, brother or father. However her agricultural labor is not considered labor at all. It is included in her duties as a wife or a daughter. About 80% of rural women work outside of their homes but they are not considered agricultural workers nor are they paid for their labor. The wages earned for their toil are collected by their menfolk (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987).

Mumtaz and Shaheed (1987) point out that contrary to the tribal and rural areas, women in the urban centers of Pakistan have somewhat greater freedom of movement and greater opportunities to access education and employment. In the urban areas, one may find women with little or no education and those with the highest degrees. One may find women who are unemployed, raising families, women who are employed in low paying, unskilled jobs such as sweepers or laborers, and those who are professionals, such as doctors, scientists, professors and engineers, the latter group representing a minority rather than the norm. However, even in the greater freedom and more progressive atmosphere of the cities, women's lives are still dictated by beliefs,

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customs and practices which subordinate them to male supremacy (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987).

As a final note to the discussion of the practice of patriarchy in Pakistan, I would emphasize that the Pakistani government's efforts to Islamize the country since the early 1980's took the Pakistani woman's status to a new low (Zia, 1991). The laws and ordinances introduced since then, such as the Hudood ordinance mentioned in the first chapter, have served to deepen the already institutionalized subordination of women (Zia, 1991; 1994). Women's lives, their bodies and their very behavior have come under blatant scrutiny in the name of "islamization". For example, in the year 1980, in a campaign to fight "obscenity", all female government employees, as well as all teachers and female students in schools and colleges were given a directive to wrap themselves with a shroud when in public (Alavi, 1990). In this writer's view, a directive which equates obscenity with the woman's body implies that a woman's body, her presence or her sexuality are threatening and obscene and so must be covered and contained. I believe that the renewed fervor with which the interpretation and practices of religion have been employed to control women's lives has only served to deepen the misogynistic trends in the Pakistani society. There could

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not be a more unabashed expression of a woman's status in Pakistan than the fact that in 1980, a law was proposed where the compensation or blood money for the murder of a woman would be half to that of a man (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987).

Based upon the information presented, I would conclude that the Pakistani society bears not one but several layers and dimensions of patriarchal structures, all of which come together to define the role, status and lives of its women. Oppression of the Pakistani woman today takes on myriad forms, depending upon the geographical area, regional culture and socioeconomic strata that she belongs to. As mentioned in this section, although the tribal cultures may differ from the agrarian culture and both of those may differ from the urban locations, each evidences its own version of patriarchy. A woman's socioeconomic status will also affect her access to resources such as education and her ability to work and to move around. But the common thread in all the different socioeconomic and regional groups is the vigilance over women's behavior and how they conduct their lives. The variation lies only in the intensity of this vigilance. Customary, legal and national laws today legitimize male control over women's lives in the Pakistani society. Irrespective of whether she is

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restricted to her home, or belongs to the professional world, the social status of the Pakistani women is deemed secondary to that of a man, to say the least. In the following chapter I will examine how these patriarchal beliefs may be related to domestic violence in Pakistan. I will also address research questions that can be addressed in this area.

I have also discussed how gender roles come into play within a patriarchal structure and how they appear to be related to the occurrence or acceptance of domestic violence. Since the Pakistani society is a patriarchal society, and since gender role socialization seems inherent to patriarchy, I believe it is relevant to address gender socialization to understand wife abuse in Pakistan. The following section will explore gender roles in Muslim culture and gender relations in the Pakistani society.

An Analysis of Gender Roles in the Muslim Culture

As discussed above, while the Pakistani culture is a combination of various traditions and customs depending upon the regional, provincial and class divisions (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987), patriarchal interpretations of Islamic ideology are often used to reinforce these beliefs and customs (Shaheed, 1991). Most contemporary Muslim

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societies, including the Pakistani society, have been swept by modernization and urbanization, such that there is a greater acceptance of women in roles and arenas previously denied to them (e.g. education, professions in previously male dominated fields, and more visibility in sociopolitical spheres). Although the power differential within the conjugal unit has slowly changed due to the change in women's roles, these societies still maintain patriarchal structure and beliefs.

Fatima Mernissi, a Moroccan sociologist presents a detailed historical analysis of male-female dynamics in her book *Beyond the Veil: Male Female Dynamics in Modern Muslim Society* (1987). It should be noted that Mernissi's (1987) discussion of sex and gender in Muslim societies is a commentary on beliefs and customs as practiced by contemporary Muslims, rather than a reflection of the true teachings of Islam. Although the focus of her study is Muslim culture in the Moroccan society, her observations could well be reflective of the Pakistani society. I have drawn three points from her book that are relevant to the present discussion of gender relations in Pakistan.

First, Mernissi (1987) contends that contrary to the oppression of women in the West, where a belief in women's inferiority is the driving force behind sexism, the eastern

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brand of gender based oppression stems from the perception of femaleness as being all too powerful and dangerous, capable of creating chaos and confusion. As she states in her book,

> The whole Muslim organization of social interaction and spacial (*sic*) configuration can be understood in terms of women's *qaid* power [the author describes the word "qaid" as" the power to deceive and defeat men, not by force, but by cunning and intrigue"] the social order then appears as an attempt to subjugate her power and neutralize it's disruptive effects. (Mernissi, 1987, pp.33).

The question arises as to what exactly is the threat from this so-called 'qaid' power of women. Mernissi states that the Muslim theory views women as essentially seductive and men as basically weak in the face of this seduction. Because the ultimate goal of a good Muslim is total submission to God, anything and anybody that comes between this lofty goal must be contained and controlled. Mernissi (1987) views the various Muslim customs such as repudiation (man's right to divorce) and polygamy (man's right to four wives), as ways to contain and control that power. Hence this belief in women as being all too powerful and of their

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potential for being dangerous, sets the tone for male-female dynamics which is quite different from that in the West.

Second, Mernissi (1987) states that one of the ways in which this dynamic is played out is through sexual segregation. Mernissi refers to Muslim sexuality as "territorial: its regulatory mechanisms consist primarily in strict allocation of space to each sex..."(p.137). expanding on this observation , she states:

> Strict space boundaries divide Muslim society into two sub-universes: the universe of men (the *umma*, the world of religion and power) and the universe of women, the domestic world of sexuality and the family. The spatial division according to sex reflects the division between those who hold authority and those who do not...(pp. 138).
>
> The citizens of the domestic universe are primarily sexual beings; they are defined by their genitals and not by their faith. They are not united, but are divided into two categories: men, who have power, and women, who obey. Women - who are citizens of this domestic universe and whose existence outside that sphere is considered an anomaly, a transgression - are

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> subordinate to men, who (unlike their women) also possess a second nationality, one that grants them membership of the public sphere, the domain of religion and politics, the domain of power, of the management of the affairs of the *umma*. Having been identified as primarily citizens of the domestic universe, women are then deprived of power even within the world in which they are confined, since it is the man who wields authority within the family (pp.139).

The third point in Mernissi's book, which is relevant to the present discussion, concerns her views on heterosexual interaction in the Muslim society. She states that given the sexual segregation in the traditional Muslim culture, there are no formal or socially accepted modes for heterosexual interaction. The marital unit is the only institution for the expression of this bond or interaction (1987, p.108). As mentioned in the above-mentioned paragraphs, the differential spatial allocation on basis of one's sex creates a hierarchy and a power differential between men and women. Men become the rulers of the world, both the domestic world and the umma, or the world at large, while the women, denied access to the public domain, become subordinate to their husbands.

Thus, I believe that the three factors discussed by

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Mernissi are also pivotal to gender relations in Pakistan in the following ways; women's power is suspect at best, and detrimental to society at worst. The perception of this power necessitates control of women by gender segregation and by covering and confining their physical presence to the domestic sphere, which in turn becomes the only platform of heterosexual interaction.

I believe the dynamics of the male-female relationship in traditional Muslim culture (as outlined above) are important to keep in mind when assessing violence towards women, especially violence in the domestic sphere in this society. When the only socially accepted mode of heterosexual interaction, the conjugal unit or the marital dyad, is also one designed to control and oppress women, then domesticity and control almost become mutual terms. I do not mean to imply here that all domestic situations or all conjugal relationships are marked by violence, or even control. However, I do contend that when the conjugal unit or the marital dyad is *based upon an ideology* of containment and control of women, then, if and when domestic violence does occur, it fits in with the larger framework of maintaining the power differential between husband and wife. Future research could address whether this contention is true for the Pakistani society.

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Gender Roles in Pakistan

> In Pakistan the attitude towards women as inferior beings is visible from the birth of a girl, which is greeted with guilt or despair on the part of the mother, shame or anger on the part of the father, and general concern and commiseration of the entire circle of friends and family (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987, p.23).

The above mentioned description resonates with this writer; my birth in a small town of northwest Pakistan led a team of nurses and other hospital staff present at the time, to pay their heartfelt condolences to my mother, on the birth of her third child, also a third daughter. The Pakistani society holds rigid and traditional views about what it means to be a man or a woman, as reflected in her people's often-immediate response to the birth of a baby, based solely upon the sex of the child.

Although the dawn of the twenty-first century may have seen some changes in the urban areas of Pakistan, for the most part, women and girls are still considered a burden in most Pakistani families (Niaz-Anwar, 1997). Mumtaz and Shaheed (1987) discuss the status of women in Pakistan, stating that most Pakistanis consider the birth of a female a "liability and a social burden" (1987, p.23). They also point out the myth of the female as an economic burden,

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stating that women's labor is often not recognized. As opposed to the status of women, males are highly valued in the Pakistani society and are considered an asset. First, due to the same myth that men contribute to the family sustenance and women don't. Second, because parents consider sons an investment; while the daughter will eventually get married and go off to another home (and will require a dowry to do so), the son will stay with the parents and provide a home for them in their old age (Hazarika, 2000; Winkvist & Akhtar, 2000).

As in other societies that adhere to traditional gender roles, perceptions of what it means to be a man or a woman in Pakistan are based upon their perceived roles in the society. Resonant with Mernissi's (1987) views, Mumtaz and Shaheed (1987) indicate that a Pakistani woman's assets revolve around her reproductive capabilities and on her person as an object of sexual service. Hence most of the socially prescribed roles for women are based on these two issues. The emphasis on female's sexuality dictates how she may behave within her home and outside of her home, so that her chastity is maintained until she is married off, while the emphasis on her reproductive abilities renders her a "commodity, eventually owned by her husband" (1987, p.23).

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Hassan (1995) relates this belief in guarding the woman's sexual and reproductive functions to the practice of purdah or veiling which, in Pakistan, translates into the concepts of 'chadder' and 'chardewari' (1996, p.14). A chadder literally means a shroud, which may be used to veil women from strange men, lest the woman sexually excite the men. Chardewari literally means four walls and refers to the domestic sphere defined by the four walls of a woman's home. Hassan (1995) goes on to state that although not all Pakistani women observe veiling or stay confined within the four walls of their homes, "...the concepts of chadder and chardewari inform the social ideology of the role of the sexes" (1995,p.15). According to her, the concept of chadder reinforces the emphasis on women's sexuality while the idea of confining women to their domestic spheres implies that they are incapable of functioning in the outside world and renders them "subservient to man in the private realm" (1995, p.15). When discussing confinement to the domestic sphere, Hassan prefers to use the term seclusion rather than segregation. She believes that the concept of chardewari does not only segregate between the sexes but keeps women from connecting with other women as well (Hassan, 1995).

In my view, the construct of veiling goes beyond being

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a social construct and can be seen as a social institution, which has succeeded in controlling the lives of Pakistani woman. It in fact entails a lifestyle prescribed for women that creates cultural boundaries between the sexes, and in addition to defining the personal versus public space for women, dictates how women behave in the family, outside of home, and especially with the members of the opposite sex. It is a "code of woman's conduct which requires that she behaves modestly, restrained in speech, restricted in movement" and dictates that she must observe "shyness of demeanor, avoidance of eye contact with males, avoidance of loud speech and laughter and limitation of conversation with non family males to necessary work-connected topic" (Mandelbaum, 1988, p. 4).

Mumtaz and Shaheed (1987) refer to the institution of pardah (Urdu word for veiling) as a source of power and control exercised by patriarchy. In their article "Pakistani Women in Profile", they write:

> Purdah, which operates at both social and economic level, consists of segregating the sexes and secluding women. It has proved to be an effective system for dividing the public and private spheres of life and for excluding women from both the economic marketplace and political decision making (1987, p. 29).

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This seclusion and segregation has left few avenues open to Pakistani women to educate or advance themselves. It limits their ability to access information, gain employment or any other form of power or independence. This promotes their dependence on their male kin such as fathers, brothers or husbands. As Mumtaz and Shaheed point out, "Most Pakistani women do not have an identity of their own. They are known as the sister, daughter, mother or wife of a man and depend entirely on him for their economic needs" (1987, p. 30).

The extent to which the institution of pardah is implemented varies over various cultural regions, and also over various socioeconomic strata. For example in the rural area, poverty necessitates that the women work in the farms with their male kin. Interestingly enough, in this scenario, the farming area is not considered public space and it is acceptable for women to come out of their homes to work. However, the areas beyond the farming land (for example towns and bazaars where economic trade and selling of crops takes place) become public space and women will rarely be seen there (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987). In the same setting, the womenfolk of the landowning gentry are restricted to the four walls of their homes and any place outside of it is considered public space.

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In the urban areas, the more educated women do not veil themselves. They also have greater mobility in society. They go to schools and universities and may be seen in numerous professions. However their reference is still made with respect to their male kin. Pakistani American sociologist Hamza Alavi writes in his article "Pakistani Women in a Changing Society":

> No woman, even with an independent career in a city, can set up a home on her own without the *saya* (lit: shade or protection) of a male. A divorced woman or a widow must return to her father or brother, if they will have her, unless she has a grown up son under whose protection she can live. This is a powerful factor of control over women (1990, p.125).

Anthropologist David Mandelbaum (1987) noted in his observation of South Asian women that although she is "excluded from public affairs, a woman can have influence and power within her domestic sphere" (1987, p. 51). This influence and power "increases from very little as a young wife to a great deal as a senior matron" (Mandelbaum, 1987, p. 51). Other sources indicate that within their own domestic domain, Pakistani women may get their own way by complaining, pleading illness, or non-cooperation (Pastner, 1974).

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To summarize, women in Pakistan are considered an economic and social burden, while the emphasis on their sexuality and their reproductive role leads to their seclusion and segregation within the domestic sphere (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987), which adds to their dependence on their male kin (Hassan, 1995). Although she may enjoy some power within her own domestic sphere, and this power may increase as she ages, she is excluded from economic and sociopolitical spheres, the participation of which could be the source of her true personal autonomy and power.

Thus it is in the spirit of sexual segregation that Pakistani women have traditionally been denied access to education, vocation, and other modes of attaining self-determination. Being confined to the allocated domestic space precludes any chances of participation in the economic and sociopolitical processes of the public domain (Mernissi, 1987). By virtue of this same segregation or seclusion, women are also unable to connect as a group either to share their views or their sufferings, limiting their ability to generate any political or social activism (Hassan, 1995). Hence it interferes with a woman's self-growth as a person as well as her growth as a group.

The cultural expectations that derive from a woman's role in the Pakistani society lay down the norms for her

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conduct and behavior. Deviations from these norms, for example, choosing to stay unmarried or refusing to observe literal or connotative aspects of purdah/ veiling, are culturally denounced and at times, punished. Women's submission and men's dominance in the marital dyad is taken to be the natural order of things. These observations lead me to conclude that adhering to traditional gender roles in Pakistan would also lead to sanctioning of violence within the home. The following chapter will discuss in greater detail how gender role ideologies may be related to domestic violence in Pakistan. The following chapter will also address implications for research on gender role ideologies in Pakistan.

The Culture of Honor

If the construct of purdah serves as a significant form of social control of women, the concept of honor may be seen as a complementary construct, which serves to be the driving force behind women's seclusion. Anthropologist David G. Mandelbaum presents an extensive analysis of sex roles in South Asia in his book *Women's Seclusion and Men's Honor* (1988). According to him, the crux of most gender relations in South Asia are two concepts-- namely "izzat" or honor, and pardah or veiling,

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which must be observed to maintain honor. According to Mandelbaum, the term pardah "has been used narrowly, for specific traits of physical covering and spatial closure" (1988, p. 2). But in broader terms, it refers to "the beliefs and values about the behavior of women, the restrictions on their movements outside the household and the requirements for their respectful and deferential demeanor within the home" (1988, p.2). Mandelbaum describes honor or izzat (Urdu word for honor) as "a symbolic, summary of past achievements and a main element in present power. Power...enhances izzat; izzat legitimates power" (1988, p. 22). Hence, the izzat or honor of a family or tribe in general, and of the males in particular, translates into social power, which in turn ensures a dominant place in the social hierarchy.

Mandelbaum goes on to observe the relationship between the concepts of izzat (honor) and pardah (veiling);

> ...izzat is mainly positive in connotation. It embraces what a man should do if he can. Purdah is more negative. It covers what a woman might do but should not. There is some feedback between a family's izzat and it's purdah practices. The practices, properly done, enhance izzat. The izzat, to be properly maintained, requires unfailing purdah observance. So

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purdah strengthens izzat as izzat strengthens purdah (1988, p.24).

Thus, it becomes incumbent upon the woman to maintain and increase the male honor or family honor by observing the code of purdah. Any hint of digression from this prescription of modesty, whether real or alleged, bears grave consequences for the woman, from gossip, to her chances of marriage being ruined, to being beaten or killed by her immediate male kin (Ahmed, 1986; Shah, 1997).

It should be noted that the concept of honor per se does not imply violence. This writer's experience with the Pakistani culture, as well a perusal of literature on other South Asian cultures, indicate that the concept of honor can have positive connotations (Mandelbaum, 1988). For example, honor or izzat in Pakistan indicates possession of integrity, strength of character, high or noble standing or social prestige. A person may possess izzat on the basis of any number of things, such as wealth, good morals, honesty, education, piety, the reputation of being just and fair, etc. Thus even in abject poverty, a person can possess and enjoy honor. The antithesis of honor is shame (sharm) which is the state of experiencing loss of face if one's honor is lost (Mandelbaum, 1988). Inherent in the code of honor is a constant effort by individuals and

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groups to maintain the honor and to avoid the state of shame (sharm) at all costs.

Honor or izzat is not limited to a person. In a kinship-based society, a person's behavior always reflects upon the group and so the honor of one person is generally reflective of the honor of the whole family or group (Mandelbaum, 1988). Thus a person's achievements reflect upon her or his individual honor as well as the honor of the whole group. Similarly, the individual's loss of honor is experienced as shame for the whole group. Constant feedback from the group or community as to what is honorable and when there is shame creates a complex and dynamic phenomenon. It is complex because the definition of what is considered 'honorable' and worthy of izzat is relative to the group and its social and economic standing. For example, in some families, women's participation in professional or academic pursuits may be seen as adding to the family's honor, while in some other families, a woman working outside of the home may be a matter of shame and loss of honor. The phenomenon is dynamic because izzat "has to be continually reaffirmed in practice, reinforced in action, defended against challenge, and rewon and advanced in competition" (Mandelbaum, 1988, p. 23).

Ortner and Whitehead (1981) have looked at the culture

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of honor as a system of "prestige hierarchies" which are structures of hierarchies based upon one's status deriving from wealth, family lineage, or political or social strength. They address gender relations and veiling practices in the context of these prestige hierarchies. They point to the tendency of various societies to assign greater value and prestige to men as a group. This is accompanied by greater access and control allowed to men (as a group) to the pubic domains of society while also having access to the private domains occupied by the women as a group.

In prestige hierarchies, men's prestige is characterized in terms of their roles in society which are not related to women, such as the roles of leader or warrior, while women's prestige is defined in terms of their relation to men, such as wives, mothers or daughters (Ortner & Whitehead, 1981). If prestige and honor derive from prowess in the material, political or social world, then it gives men an advantage over women, who are typically denied access to the public sphere. Additionally, women's roles defined within the parameters of their kinship ties, especially to their menfolk, implies that the men have rights over them as husbands, fathers or brothers. Women, however, do not have similar rights over men (Ortner

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& Whitehead, 1981). Thus, as Mandelbaum sums up the thesis offered by Ortner and Whitehead "Prestige hierarchies are, by and large, male games…from which women are excluded. Yet a man's ranking in the prestige order and that of his group are closely linked to the conduct of the women" (Mandelbaum, 1988, p. 100).

The emphasis on female virginity is seen as central to prestige of the man and/or his group (Mandelbaum, 1988; Ortner & Whitehead, 1981; Pastner, 1972). Some writers have argued that issues of veiling, female sexuality, and female virginity in the cultures of honor may be related to issues of land ownership and property inheritance, which in turn may be related to prestige and social status (Shah, 1997). One can speculate by this logic that by controlling women's movements and controlling their sexuality, the group can eliminate chances of women mating outside the group which would transfer property to outside groups through inheritance, thus diluting the group's power. Indeed, in some parts of Pakistan, forced marriages take place in the form of marrying the virgin to the Koran, or marrying an adult woman to a minor, in order to keep the land in the family (Shah, 1997).

However land ownership does not explain why violence in the name honor occurs in poor families who do not

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possess much land or property. In fact, as Sev'er and Yurdakul (2001) point out, in Turkey honor crimes are more likely to occur in the poorest and most disenfranchised groups. They argue that among the poor class in Turkey, the only property that men can claim is "the lives and bodies of their women" (2001, p. 986). In the tribal and feudal regions of Pakistan as well, honor crimes have been reported in both upper class as well as lower class groups. Thus it does not seem clear at this time how socioeconomic status or land ownership relate to honor crimes in Pakistan. Future research may lead to a better understanding about the interaction of class and socioeconomic status with honor crimes.

Mandelbaum, in his study of the culture of honor in north India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, found that in all these regions, women and their behavior, especially the concept of purdah or veiling, was closely tied to the honor of the men and the honor of their whole group/clan. However, Mandelbaum noted a wide range of variations in the observance of purdah, based upon the age, region, class and education of the people (1988). In this writer's experience, this is true for contemporary Pakistani society as well. While the concept of honor (izzat) and shame (sharm) may be said to be central to the lives and

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experiences of most Pakistanis, and while women's chastity and modesty are generally included in the concepts of honor, these practices do not always lead to violence. However, in some regions of Pakistan, notably the tribal and feudal cultures, general and domestic violence against women in the name of honor is rampant.

Honor Killings in Pakistan

By virtue of being repositories of a family's honor, women, typically in tribal and feudal settings, have been murdered by what is called an 'honor killing'. A woman who is even suspected of talking to or meeting with a man to whom she is not married or engaged, is assumed to have illicit relations and may be promptly killed by her husband, father or brother (Ahmed, 1986; Ali, 1994; Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987; Shah, 1997). In other instances, women have been violated *in order* to defile a man's or family's' honor (Amnesty International, 1999a). In cases of disputes between men, women have been subjected to violence such as rape or humiliated such as being disrobed publicly as a way of taking revenge against her male kin (Yusuf, 1996).

The issue of honor killings is not limited to the Pakistani society. It occurs in a wide variety of cultures and countries (Crossette, 2000; Jehl, 1999;Thomas, 1999) and even in some southern parts of the United States (Cohen

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& Nisbett, 1994; Cohen, Nisbett, Bowdle & Schwarz, 1996; Cohen & Nisbett, 1997). In Pakistan, the concept of honor killing originates from tribal traditions in Baluchistan and the Northwest Frontier province, where sex outside of marriage, such as adultery or premarital sex, is considered taboo. The commission of this act is considered an affront to the honor of the family, specifically the men of the family (Hassan, 1995; Shah, 1997). The culprits or alleged culprits of an honor crime (that is how the victims of honor crimes are seen in these areas, as perpetrators) are meted out punishment by the male members of the family or the community, including husbands, brothers, fathers, fathers- or brothers-in-law, uncles or male cousins. Often, older female members of the family, while rarely partner to the actual act of killing, are in agreement with the brutal treatment of the victims of honor killings (Ahmed, 1986).

Although both men and women are subject to this honor code and the ramifications of breaking this code, a great majority of men are not held liable, or are physically able to run away or offer monetary compensation for the breach of honor and/or for the death of the murdered woman, because the murderer suffered a loss on account of the adulterer. Women on the other hand, are almost always

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punished for this breach by murder. Even if the woman manages to run away, she is eventually hunted down by family members and meted out the punishment (Amnesty International, 1999a). The perpetrators of honor killings are often seen as victims who did what they could to protect their honor. As mentioned in Chapter 1 of this study, perpetrators of honor killings are often treated leniently by the judicial system where a threat to a man's honor is considered sudden and grave provocation which almost always reduces the crime from murder to manslaughter, allowing the perpetrator lenient sentences, such as 1-2 years of imprisonment (Hassan, 1995; Human Rights Watch, 1999).

As mentioned above, honor killings were originally carried out as punishment against women who engaged in or were suspected to be engaging in licentious or sexually improper behavior. However, as the definition and meaning of the term 'improper behavior' for women and girls seems to have broadened to include other acts of self-determination that may be perceived as challenges to traditional or customary norms, so has the definition of what defiles a family's honor. This has resulted in increased violence towards women, both inside and outside of home. Hence, women have been murdered for seeking a

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marriage partner of their own choice or for seeking a divorce, because their male kin saw their choices as an insult to the man's or family's honor (Amnesty International, 1998). In other instances, female victims of rape have been killed by their male relatives because an assault on the female's chastity was considered a grave violation of the men's honor (Amnesty International, 1999a). In their annual report on human rights violations in Pakistan, Amnesty International states that many females, ranging from preadolescence to very old, including married, unmarried and widowed, have been subjected to violence in the name of honor (Amnesty International, 1999a).

Although the practice of honor killing has been historically observed in the tribal and feudal cultures of Pakistan, Pakistani newspapers as well as international reports have indicated that honor killings have increased in Pakistan including incidents noted in urban areas (Human Rights Watch, 1999; "Man bludgeons wife", 2000). The murder of Saima Sarwar (mentioned in the first chapter), the women who was shot by her uncle for seeking a divorce from an abusive husband, took place in the city of Lahore, one of the largest urban cities of Pakistan. The victim's mother, a physician by profession, accompanied the

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murderer. That such an atrocity occurred among the 'educated' urbanites reflects how, instead of dissipating in the tides of progress and urbanization, the age-old feudal and tribal customs of objectifying and violating women in the name of honor, are becoming a common practice in cities as well. However, this observation is based upon national and international reports of violence against women in rural and urban areas of Pakistan (Amnesty International, 1998, 1999a; 1999b; Constable, 2000; Hassan, 1995). The present writer is not aware of any formal studies on rates or incidents of honor crimes in Pakistani cities.

Literature on the Culture of Honor

Cohen and Nisbett (1994) studied the culture of honor in southern states of America. They point out the higher rates of argument related homicides in southern states than in northern states and hypothesize that this trend may be due to the culture of honor in the South. According to Cohen and Nisbett (1994) the culture of honor is related to the legacy of herding economy and herding culture in the early history of the South as the early settlers of southern states were Scotch-Irish whose main occupation was herding.

According to Cohen and Nisbett (1994) the economic

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strength of herding groups depended upon their ability to protect their land and property. Since these groups generally lacked any established social structures to over see law and order, they functioned on a system of retribution and self-protection. In the culture of retributive justice, violence as well as the very threat of violence was a major way of deterring encroachment of their land or theft of their property. In such a culture, establishing one's reputation as being a "tough character" was necessary to self-protection and for the protection of property. The culture of self-protection and retributive justice led to the culture of honor. Thus "In the absence of normal law and order, power and hierarchy are established through the social mechanisms underlying the culture of honor" (p. 1994, 552).

Events or conflicts, which may otherwise appear trivial, take on great meaning within the context of the culture of honor, as any hint of personal insult necessitates retribution to affirm and reestablish one's standing and force in the community. When a whole group or community shares the code of honor, the system is strengthened because there is a constant feedback from the community. Thus status is maintained or strengthened if retribution is carried out. If retribution is not carried

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out, there is shame and loss of status within the community. Cohen and Nisbett (1994) assert that even though herding culture in the South has become a thing of the past, the culture of honor still prevails in those parts of the United States. They call it a "self-sustaining" system because it is a shared value within the community and those who don't follow the code of honor may be seen as weak and may lose social standing in their community. Thus the cost of backing out and not being retributive to personal affronts or insults may be greater than engaging in violence (Cohen & Nisbett, 1994).

Cohen and Nisbett (1994) tested their contention that the higher rates of argument related violence among the Southerners was due to their culture of honor. They analyzed data from attitude surveys on violence collected earlier by Blumenthal, Kahn, Andrews and Head (as cited in Cohen & Nisbett, 1994). The respondents included 305 Caucasian males from southern states and 741 Caucasian males from northern states. Cohen and Nisbett found that although the respondents from the south did not approve of violence in general anymore than the respondents from the northern states, they were more likely to endorse violence in response to personal insults or affronts, to threats to family, to protect property or for self protection. The

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southerners were also more likely to consider a person "not much of a man" if that person was hypothetically faced with certain insults or threats and he did not respond to it aggressively (1994, p. 559). These differences were not related to age, income or education variables (Cohen & Nisbett, 1994).

Elsewhere, Cohen, Nisbett, Bowdle and Schwartz (1996) did an experiment with 83 Caucasian male college students where 41 came from southern states and 42 came from northern states. In each group (southern vs. northern) half were subjected to an insult (a confederate bumps into the subject and then calls the subject a derogatory name) wile the other half were controls and did not interact with the confederate. The researchers found a significant difference between the emotional reactions of the two groups. The southerners that were insulted tended to be angrier than the northerners as measured by their immediate facial and behavioral responses. They also showed greater physiological response to the insult as measured by higher levels of cortisol (released by the body at times of stress or arousal) and testosterone (released when body is primed for aggression) in their body.

After the insult scenario, both groups were presented with a vignette where a fictional character was insulted

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and the subjects were asked to give the ending for the scenario. Southern subjects who had been insulted tended to give more violent endings to the vignette than the northern subjects did. Further into the experiment, the insulted southerners were more likely to behave in aggressive and domineering ways when presented with challenging interpersonal encounters. The control groups, the non-insulted subjects from the north and the south did not show any significant differences in their responses to the vignette, in their cortisol or testosterone levels, or their behaviors when presented with challenging interpersonal encounters (Cohen, Nisbett, Bowdle, and Schwartz, 1996).

Thus the existing literature on the culture of honor in the southern parts of United States indicates that it is an ideology that embodies certain rules and expectations when individuals are confronted with insults or threats to self or property. Cohen and Nisbett call these "behavioral scripts" (1994, p. 566) which not only dictate people's behavior but tend to be a part of a person's very identity and their sense of who they are. I would add that this sense of identity is related to the individual actor as well as to the identity of the group or community as a whole.

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I believe that the same could be said of the culture of honor that prevails in certain parts of Pakistan. It is a system of honor based upon one's control over one's property, land and women. Being a kinship based society, the response or lack of response from the affronted man affects the identity of the whole group. As such, the whole group may pressure the affronted man to retaliate any real or threatened loss to his honor, thereby maintaining the identity and status of the group.

Cohen and Nisbett (1994) discussed the importance of protecting property and fending off insults if a man were to assert his force or power in the culture of honor. I would add that in the culture of honor in Pakistan, control of women's sexuality has similar meaning for a man's reputation as well as the reputation of his clan or group. Sexual violations of or by the woman, even the slightest threat, or hint of a threat of such a violation, are an encroachment on the man's property, his woman.

Addressing the issue of women's murder in the name of honor, Baker, Gregware, and Cassidy (1999) believe that "honor concepts are but another way of understanding the operation of patriarchy" (1999, p.166). They argue that honor homicides represent three dimensions. First, they see the honor codes and the related violence as well as the

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very threat of violence, as mechanisms of social control of women. Second, they theorize that the loss of this control or even the threat of such a loss results in a sense of shame in the male members of the familly. They illustrate how in some Mediterranean cultures, not only does an act of dishonor necessitate swift punishment, but that not acting in defense of one's honor actually adds to the dishonor and shame (1999, p.170).

Third, they view the involvement and reaction of the community at large as an integral part in the perpetuation of this cycle, "A family that maintains strict control of its women benefits from a good reputation in the community", (1999, p. 171). In other words, a family that is known to control its women is seen as honorable, and thereby enjoys power in the community. Accordingly, transgressions of the honor code that become public, compounded by the society's reaction to the transgression, add to the urgency and necessity of retaliation such as honor killings, to maintain one's power (Baker et al., 1999).

Thus in the light of the preceding discussion, the culture of honor promotes men's control of women in order to assert their power and reputation in the group. The process of reducing women to mere representations of honor

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epitomizes their objectification and commodification within the culture of honor. The following section looks more closely at the process of commodification of women in Pakistan.

Commodification of Women in Pakistan

The emphasis on the female's chastity and sexual purity in Pakistan has been linked to her status as a commodity. Shaheen Sardar Ali, Professor of Constitutional and International Law at Peshawar University, Pakistan, writes that in the tribal culture of northwest Pakistan, it is common knowledge that a female is the property of her male relatives--her father, brothers or her uncles (Ali, 1994). She states that at the time of her marriage, the ownership of women transfers from her immediate male relatives to her husband. Marriage then becomes an exchange of ownership where her husband assumes rights over her person and her body. Additionally, the marriage takes place in exchange for a bride price; money paid for the bride to the bride's family. The younger the female, the higher the price, just as a chaste and sexually pure female ensures a higher price. Hence the female's chastity is guarded as cherished property with a potential for economic return (Ahmed, 1986; Ali, 1994).

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Nafisa Shah, a Pakistani journalist, who has researched and written extensively on honor killings in feudal families, writes of similar practices of paying bride price in the Upper Sindh province. She also notes that in those areas, when a man does not have enough financial resources to obtain a bride, a female member of his own family is offered as an exchange (Shah, 1997). Hassan (1995) points to the objectification of females where the family elders arrange their marriages with a motivation to keep the females' potential inheritance of land or assets within the family or clan. There are also instances of women being 'married to the Quran' so that their inheritance (land) stays within the family (Hassan, 1995; Shah, 1997). Commodification of women is also evidenced in both the tribal and feudal customs, where females are often exchanged between clans or tribes to settle disputes over land, to settle defilement of a man's honor, or in lieu of blood money or compensation for someone's murder (Amnesty International, 1999a; Hassan, 1995).

Thus, violations against women in the name of honor represent the most glaring example of the relationship between customary tradition and violence towards women. The practice of associating women and their behavior with

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men's honor and power reinforces men's right to control women through any means necessary. In addition, treating marriage as transfer of ownership supports the notion of commodification of women. From this perspective, the institution of marriage becomes an institution of property exchange. The husband becomes the ruler and controller of his newly gained 'commodity'. Additionally, when commodification of women is set within the context of patriarchally determined gender roles, the concept of honor as power and the practice of honor crimes take on legitimacy. I propose that when it becomes normative to view a wife as her husband's property and a mere vessel of his honor and thereby his power, then the act of wife beating becomes a mere attempt to maintain that power. If the loss of control (over one's wife) is seen as shameful, then the very act of maintaining control may be seen as an act of honor in itself. In such a case, wife beating would be more likely to be seen as the man's prerogative rather than a crime.

Summary

The study of cultural violence highlights the way in which the act of direct violence and the fact of structural violence are legitimized and thus rendered

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acceptable in society (Galtung, 1990, p. 292).

In this chapter I discussed how the Pakistani society engenders deeply patriarchal ideology and structures which generate customs, traditions and practices to create and maintain men's dominance over women's lives (Ali, 1993; Shaheed, 1991). As in some of the western societies, gender role socialization in Pakistan underscores the patriarchal ideology (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987). Additionally, the traditions of viewing women as men's property (Ali, 1994) and as mere carriers of men's honor (Shah, 1997) reinforce the idea of men's ownership, power and control over women. As such, these beliefs and traditions may be seen as what Johan Galtung calls "cultural violence" (1990, p.291), i.e., they may serve as the framework in which actual acts of physical, sexual and emotional abuse become possible and acceptable. Thus I believe that the concepts of patriarchy and its practices are central to a psychosociol/cultural study of the phenomenon of wife beating in Pakistan.

In the following section I will present an integration of the concepts discussed so far. In doing so, I will argue that patriarchy is a larger belief system which is expressed through the subsystems of gender role ideologies, notions of honor, and objectification and commodification

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of women. I will argue that each subsystem contains certain aspects that maintain the ideology and structures of patriarchy. I will propose that an interplay of these system and subsystems may be central to understanding domestic violence and wife abuse in Pakistan. At the end of the proposed discussion, I will also include cultural considerations relevant to South Asian or Muslim societies, which I believe, will broaden the understanding of domestic violence in the context of the Pakistani society. Throughout this discussion, I will also present suggestions and implications for interventions as well as ideas for future research in the area of domestic violence in Pakistan.

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CHAPTER IV

INTEGRATION OF CONCEPTS

Thus far I have discussed those aspects of the larger cultural system, which seem to be related to domestic violence and wife abuse. I first presented information on cultural aspects of domestic violence such as patriarchy, gender roles and sexual objectification of women and how they might relate to wife abuse or general violence towards women. This information was gleaned from western literature. Next I discussed the same concepts within the context of the Pakistani society. In doing so, I also looked at the culture of honor prevalent in Pakistan. In the present section, I will bring together all the cultural factors discussed so far and integrate them in a conceptual model for understanding domestic violence and wife abuse in Pakistan. In this process, I will also address issues related to future research and implications for interventions.

Conceptualizing Domestic Violence in the Context of Pakistani Culture

Earlier in this dissertation I discussed Galtung's (1990) tripartite model of violence with three forms of

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violence; direct, indirect/structural and cultural violence (see Figure 1).

According to his conceptualization, on one tip of the triangle is cultural violence, which includes the relatively stable aspects of culture that legitimize violence. The next tip is structural or indirect violence with its pattern of ebb and flow as forms of structural violence change or reform. On the third tip are direct forms violence. Although Galtung points to the "causal flow (of violence) from cultural via structural to direct violence" (1990, p. 295), he clarifies that causal flow does not always originate from the cultural end only and that violence could begin at any one point of the triangle.

One can use Galtung's model to visualize domestic violence in Pakistan, where actual and direct acts of aggression against women in their conjugal homes are at one tip of the triangle. At the next tip are the various social and governmental institutions such as the police and the judicial system that contribute to oppression and discrimination at the structural level. At the third tip are those aspects of the Pakistani culture that may be the backdrop and at times the generators of the other two forms of violence.

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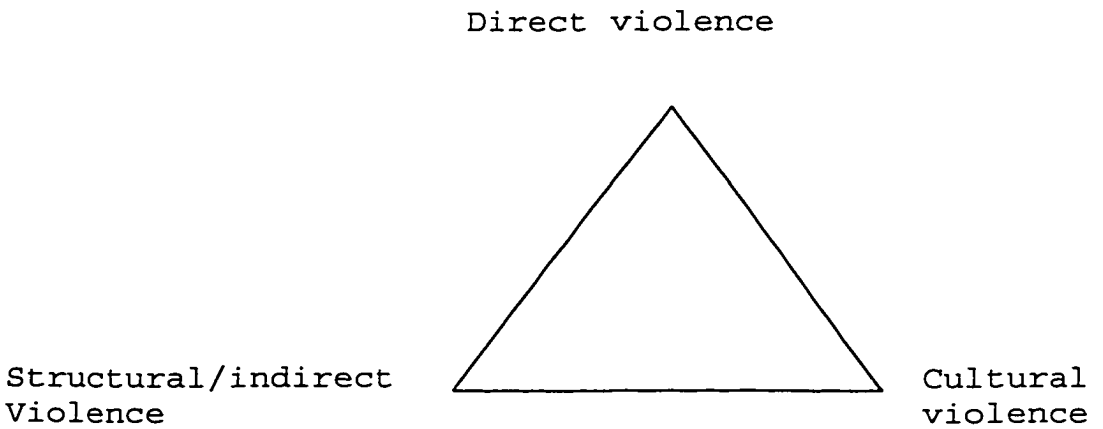

Figure 1. Galtung's tripartite model of violence*.

*Based on Galtung, (1990).

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The present paper addresses one aspect of this triad, i.e., cultural factors that directly or indirectly pave the way for direct acts of physical aggression towards Pakistani women within their homes. As such, it addresses those aspects of the Pakistani culture that may be called cultural violence because they either generate or sustain traditions, beliefs, customs and ideologies (Galtung, 1990) that condone or justify violence towards women. This discussion does not imply that cultural variables are the only variables related to or responsible for domestic violence. Indeed, other variables, such as individual factors or socioeconomic variables may also come into play. However, the purpose of the present dissertation is to focus primarily on the cultural factors.

Additionally, the following discussion does not imply that Pakistani culture as a whole is a violent culture. As Galtung (1990) points out, no culture is violent in its entirety and that it is usually certain aspects of a culture that may explain the occurrence or prevalence of violence. Thus the reader may keep in mind that the following conceptualization is not a commentary on the Pakistani culture in general or as a whole, but rather a selective look at specific aspects of the culture which may explain the phenomenon of domestic violence in Pakistan.

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The present discussion is illustrated in Figure 2, and the salient features of the corresponding concepts are presented in Table 1. The reader may refer to Appendices A, B, C, D, and E for a summary of the points presented in this conceptualization. According to this conceptualization, the system of patriarchy in the Pakistani society is the pivotal point where subjugation of women begins. Within this system are subsystems of the culture of honor, gender role ideologies, and objectification/commodification of women. These subsystems may not entirely be subsumed within patriarchy. For example, the culture of honor may include notions of izzat/prestige based upon factors other than gender, such as political might, material wealth, piety, etc. (Mandelbaum, 1988). However, when association of women's sexuality with honor/izzat results in men's control over women, then it complements the system of patriarchy. Thus there are *aspects* in each of the subsystems that seem to fit well with the ideology of patriarchy. As such, these subsystems may be seen as vehicles through which patriarchal beliefs transform into day to day behavior of individuals. Each one of these phenomena is proposed to be an aspect of the Pakistani culture, which may be related to domestic violence and wife abuse. The following discussion

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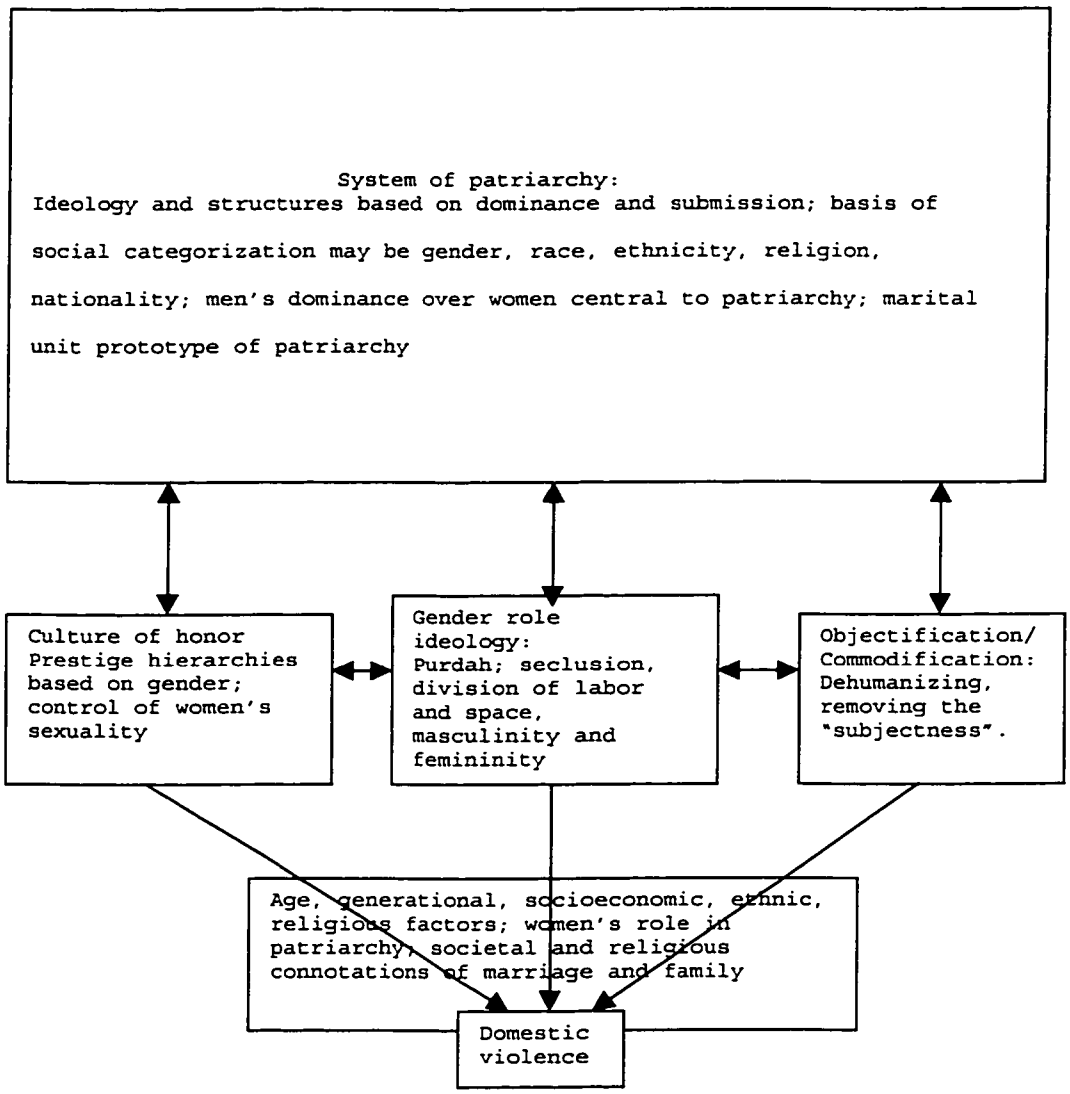
System of patriarchy:
Ideology and structures based on dominance and submission; basis of social categorization may be gender, race, ethnicity, religion, nationality; men's dominance over women central to patriarchy; marital unit prototype of patriarchy
Culture of honor
Prestige hierarchies based on gender; control of women's sexuality
Gender role ideology:
Purdah; seclusion, division of labor and space, masculinity and femininity
Objectification/ Commodification:
Dehumanizing, removing the "subjectness".
Age, generational, socioeconomic, ethnic, religious factors; women's role in patriarchy; societal and religious connotations of marriage and family
Domestic violence

Figure 2. A Conceptual Model of Domestic Violence in Pakistan

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Table 1

Cultural Aspects of Domestic Violence in Pakistan

Definitions	References
Patriarchy A belief system based on hierarchical organization of social institutions; characterized by a system of dominance-submission. Men as a group have greater power and assigned greater social value than women as a group; hierarchical relationship between husband and wife central to patriarchy; legitimizes the husband's control over his wife.	Alavi, 1990; Ali, 1993; Beneventi, 1996; Brock-Utne, 1985; Dobash & Dobash 1979; Lerner 1986; Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987; Shaheed, 1991; Smith, 1990; Twohy, 1995; Zia, 1991; 1994.
Culture of honor Characterized by prestige hierarchies based upon honor/izzat. Women's sexuality closely linked with honor/izzat of her menfolk; promotes control of women's behavior in general and their sexuality in particular. Violence in the name of honor is culturally sanctioned.	Abraham, 1999; Baker, et. al., 1999; Cohen & Nisbett, 1994; Hassan, 1995; Mandelbaum, 1988; Ortner & Whitehead, 1981; Sever & Yurdakul, 2001; Shah, 1997.
Gender roles Culturally defined constructs of masculinity and femininity based upon sex; result in division of labor and division of space, which create gender inequality. Women are socialized to serve and preserve the family and be subservient to their husbands. Cultural notions of masculinity and femininity allow men's control over wives' potential for domestic violence.	Abraham, 1999; Finn, 1986; Hassan, 1995; Lipman-Blumen, 1984; Mernissi, 1987; Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987; Segal, 1991; Walker & Goldner, 1995.

(table continues)

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Table 1 (continued)

Definitions	References
Objectification Reducing women to their sexuality; dehumanizes women. Culture of honor objectifies women by emphasizing sexual purity; sexual objectification related to men's domination of and aggression towards women.	Abraham, 1999; Bartky, 1990; Donnerstein et al., 1987; Dworkin, 1981; Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997; Nelson, 1982.
Commodification of women Women as men's property; using women and their sexuality to strengthen family's political or economic power (forced marriages); killing, beating or raping women to preserve or revenge honor.	Ahmed, 1986; Ali, 1994; Hassan, 1995; Martin & Hummer, 1997; Stombler, 1994.

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looks at each phenomenon separately. However, in reality these systems and subsystems may all be closely interrelated. Each system and subsystem may be connected to the other where they all come together to fortify the structures and ideologies of patriarchy.

The System of Patriarchy

In the present conceptualization, patriarchy may be seen as the general rubric that sets the tone for male dominance over women. As mentioned in the second chapter, patriarchy may be seen as a general system of dominance/submission, which is based on hierarchical structures (Brock-Utne, 1989; Lerner, 1986). Certain groups are assigned greater social value and importance than others, and this differential becomes both the reason and impetus to maintain the hierarchical relationship between the groups (Pratto et al., 1994). In other words, one group is given greater social value than the other, which creates a hierarchy. The lower status of a group is justified as a reason for their domination, thus deepening the hierarchy and feeding into the cycle of dominance and submission (Brock-Utne, 1989; Pratto et al., 1994). Such a differentiation between groups may be based upon any number of things, such as gender, race, socioeconomic class, or age, to name a few. At times, several forms of domination

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and oppression may come together. For example, a person may be discriminated and marginalized on the basis of her gender, her age as well as her socioeconomic class.

The dominance of men as a group over women as a group is central to a patriarchal ideology (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Lerner, 1986). Also, historically, social and legal institutions have sanctioned men's right to control and chastise their wives. As such, the marital unit may be seen as one of the most basic prototypes of patriarchy (Dobash & Dobash, 1979). As mentioned in earlier chapters, the existence of patriarchy in western cultures has been linked to the prevalence of domestic violence and wife beating (Brock-Utne, 1989; Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Smith, 1990). Similarly, studies from nonwestern societies such as China, India, Jordan, Palestine, and Turkey, have also addressed domestic violence within the context of patriarchal ideologies (Araji & Carlson, 2001; Haj-Yahia, 1998; Johnson & Johnson, 2001; Liu & Chan, 1999; Sever & Yurdakul, 2001). This dissertation takes a more detailed look at patriarchal systems as they relate to domestic violence in Pakistan.

In Pakistan, patriarchal values and ideologies are present and practiced within cultural and religious traditions, where men's superiority and dominance over

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women are seen as a natural state of affairs (Haroon & Zia, 1995; Korson & Sabzwari, 1984; Rauf, 1987; Shaheed, 1991). Whether it is tribal traditions, the feudal system or theological justifications, the message of men's superiority and greater value over women, and their right to dominate women, is omnipresent (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987; Shah, 1997; Shaheed, 1991). I believe that in the case of domestic violence in Pakistan, be it wife beating, stove burning/kitchen fires, sexual assault, or murder, the gendered nature of this violence forces one to look at social and institutional hierarchies which subjugate women as a class. Future research in Pakistan could explore how patriarchal beliefs relate to attitudes towards dominance and submission, attitudes towards women, and attitudes towards violence towards women.

According to Galtung (1990), religion may become one form of cultural violence when it is used to legitimize either direct or structural violence. This is true for Pakistan where patriarchal practices are often justified by male interpretations of Qur'an and *hadith* (Shaheed, 1991; Zia, 1994). The Qur'an is a religious text which the Muslims believe to be the exact word of God, while *hadith* or *a'hadith* (plural for hadith) are traditions (utterances, teachings or actions) of the prophet Muhammad (Rahim,

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2000). Both the Qur'anic text and a'hadith emphasize an equality between the sexes, indicating that each has an equal right to dignity, and that each is responsible and accountable for his/her own actions. Each has rights and obligations towards the other (Muslim Women's League, 1995; 1998).

> I shall not lose sight of the labor of any of you who labors in My way, be it man or woman; each of you is equal to the other (Qur'an, 3:195)

However, in contemporary Muslim societies, including Pakistan, Qur'anic verses or a'hadith are often quoted to legitimize social practices which assert men's superiority over women or men's right to control women (Shaheed, 1991, Zia, 1991; 1994). Feminist theologians point out that the Qur'anic verses or a'hadith quoted to justify such practices are often either taken out of context (Rahim, 2000) or distorted (Ali, 1993; Hassan, 1991; Shaheed, 1991). For example, the Qur'anic verse "men are protectors and maintainers of women" (Qur'an, 4:34) has been used to justify men's superior position over women (Rahim, 2000). However, no reference is made to another verse which states "men and women are protectors of one another" (Qur'an, 9: 71) which would nullify any interpretation of superiority of one sex over the other.

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Religious injunctions may also be used to justify Pakistani men's violence against their wives. For example, people who justify wife abuse often refer to a Qur'anic verse that indicates that a man may strike his wife if he suspects "disloyalty and ill conduct" (Qur'an, 4:34). However, according to theologian Habibeh Rahim (2000) the Arabic word "daraba" in this verse has been misinterpreted to mean physical striking. She points out that the Arabic "word daraba means to turn away, to be aloof, in addition to striking. The striking may not necessarily be physical, it can be an aggrieved silence as well" (2000, p. 191). Rahim's (2000) translation of the word 'daraba' as being aloof rather than striking physically would be more in line with the general theme of the Qur'an and a'hadith. The general message in Qur'an is for couples to be kind, supportive and just to each other (Muslim Women's League, 1995; Qur'an, 2:187; 4:19; 4:36; 30:21; 58:2-4; Rahim, 2000) while the sayings and actions of Prophet Mohammed repeatedly instruct men to treat their wives with gentleness (Mernissi, 1987).

It should be noted that a lot of Qur'anic text is symbolic and metaphoric and may lend itself to various interpretations and meanings. While traditionally and historically, Qur'anic translations and interpretations

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have come from male scholars, this writer has chosen to use interpretations of Qur'an and hadith offered by progressive and feminist theologians. The writer does not claim to be a religious scholar and a detailed discussion of the differences in Qur'anic interpretations is beyond the scope of this dissertation. The present discussion is a reflection of the writer's own stance that religion in Pakistan has been used to reinforce men's control and superiority over women.

Thus, as mentioned above, in spite of the letter and the spirit of Qur'anic verses and a'hadith that speak of equality between the sexes, Pakistani religious scholars have tended to interpret these verses and a'hadith more in congruence with patriarchal thinking. I believe that such use and misuse of religion function as cultural violence, since they strengthen the dominance-submission dynamic between Pakistani men and women. Future research on religious beliefs among Pakistanis and how they relate to attitudes towards gender roles and towards wife abuse may test out this contention. Since religious interpretations are often used to justify men's control and violence towards Pakistani women, one could use them as interventions to challenge cultural beliefs that condone violence. Thus, Qur'anic verses and a'hadith could be used

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to assert notions of gender equality, the values of tolerance, compassion and justice, and women's right to dignity and self-determination (Muslim Women's League, 1995; 1998; Rahim, 2000).

The reader might notice that while religion is heavily used in Pakistan to assert cultural messages of men's dominance over women, it is not included as a separate system in the present conceptualization. This is because the other concepts in the model represent ideas of men's superiority, dominance or control over women. However, Islam, per se, does not teach dominance or oppression; it in fact carries a message of social justice, equality (Irving, 1976; Qutb, 1976), and tolerance (Brohi, 1976). As such, I do not see it as separate system of violence. However, when it is used to justify patriarchal beliefs as mentioned above, it becomes an aspect of patriarchy.

Elise Boulding has noted that every religion has "two contrasting cultures"-- the "holy war and peaceable garden cultures" (1986, p. 501). Thus every religion has the capacity to be used either as a vehicle for violence or as an expression of peace and union, depending upon the aspect of religion that is invoked (Boulding, 1986). I believe that the use of Islam to justify violence and oppression of women and other minorities in Pakistan may be seen as one

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such example of invoking the "holy war" culture (Boulding, 1986). Again, future research in Pakistan could explore how religious beliefs are related to patriarchal beliefs or beliefs about violence in general.

Although religion is a powerful component in maintenance of patriarchal beliefs and practices in Pakistan, it is not the only component. The following section discusses another component, the culture of honor. The culture of honor may be seen as another aspect of the Pakistani culture that contributes to violence against women.

The Culture of Honor as a Subsystem

Since numerous instances of domestic violence as well as general violence towards women in Pakistan are justified in the name of honor (Amnesty International, 1999b; Griffin, 1996), I propose it is an important factor to include in conceptualizing domestic violence. As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, certain aspects of the culture of honor seem to fall rather neatly within the parameters of patriarchal ideology. For example, both patriarchy and the culture of honor are based on an ideology of social hierarchies and, in both of these systems, the practice of this ideology results in power differential between the genders (Lerner, 1986; Ortner &

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Whitehead, 1981). Both assign greater social value to men as a group than to women as a group. Both systems may be expressed through the other subsystems of gender role socialization, objectification and commodification (see Figure 2).

According to Cohen and Nisbett (1994), the culture of honor seems to have been prevalent in societies that lacked formal social structures to regulate laws and justice. In such societies, a system of power and hierarchies based upon force, retribution and self-protection formed social structures (Cohen & Nisbett, 1994). However, their analysis and research has focused specifically on the culture of honor in southern parts of the United States of America. A culture of honor is prevalent in several contemporary nonwestern societies (Ortner & Whitehead, 1981), and it is not clear whether it was lack of formal social structures (as explained by Cohen and Nisbett) or other factors that generated the culture of honor in these societies. However, a number of writers agree that where such a culture is prevalent in a society, the concept of honor may become the basis of a social hierarchy between groups (Mandelbaum, 1988; Ortner, 1978; Ortner & Whitehead, 1981; Pastner, 1972).

As discussed in chapter three, Ortner and Whitehead

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(1981) view notions of honor and shame as part of prestige structures. They view prestige to be synonymous to "social honor" or "social value" (1981, p. 13). They define prestige structures as "sets of prestige positions or levels that result from a particular line of social evaluation, the mechanisms by which individuals and groups arrive at given levels or positions, and the overall conditions of reproduction of the system of statuses" (Ortner & Whitehead, 1981, p. 13).

One may infer from their definition that prestige structures are based upon categories or groups ("sets") that may also involve ranking or hierarchies ("levels") and which result from social processes ("line of social evaluation", "mechanisms") which determine how these groups or levels will be defined. Mandelbaum defines honor or izzat within the South Asian cultures as consisting of "prestige and status, rank and esteem, respect and self-respect" (1988, p. 21). He views honor/izzat as "a main element in present power", something that "legitimizes power" of an individual or group within a community (1988, p. 22). Thus, in the present discussion, honor/izzat refers to prestige or good reputation, which may be central to an individual's or group's power, influence, and social status in a community.

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As mentioned in chapter three, whether honor/izzat is established on the basis of physical might, intellectual or political prowess or material wealth, it is sufficient to form the basis of a social hierarchy between groups (Mandelbaum, 1988; Pastner, 1978). The possession of honor is a positive attribute for an individual and his group. The one who can claim greater honor or prestige assumes a higher status in social hierarchy. The attainment and maintenance of one's hierarchical position requires constant vigilance so that one's prestige, and subsequently power, in the group is not challenged and one does not lose face (Mandelbaum, 1988).

It appears that the kinship-based nature of these cultures is a strong factor in the formation of the culture of honor. The issue of reputation or what the group will say always seems to accompany the fear of losing one's honor which would result in shame (sharm)(Baker et al. 1999; Mandelbaum, 1988; Ortner & Whitehead, 1981; Pastner, 1978).

Although notions of honor or prestige are not directly synonymous to violence, I propose that they may be included in the present conceptualization because certain elements inherent in the ideology of honor appear similar to patriarchy. First, to the extent that the culture of honor

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is closely tied to the existence and maintenance of social hierarchies and status differentials, it appears similar to patriarchal ideologies. Secondly, as mentioned in the third chapter, prestige hierarchies in the culture of honor are based differentially for men and women. Thus women's prestige may revolve around their relationships to men (wife, mother, sister) while men's prestige may be related to their economic, political or social might (Ortner & Whitehead, 1981). Finally, where concepts of honor become closely linked to women's sexuality, they legitimate men's control over women (Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001; Shah, 1997; Ortner, 1978). I believe that these elements may be seen as aspects of the culture of honor that liken it to patriarchy. Future research would be necessary to test out the relationship between the two phenomena.

In looking at the Pakistani society, while the notions of honor/izzat and shame are central to most Pakistanis (Mandelbaum, 1988), the culture of honor, in its most rigid form, seems to be most vehemently practiced in the feudal or tribal regions (Akbar, 1986; Amnesty International, 1998; 1999b; Hassan, 1995; Shah, 1997). Typically, these groups form kinship based societies where power is distributed asymmetrically and where certain powerful individuals or families dominate over other groups who do

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not have access to the same power or resources (Safdar, 1997). Ownership and control of land, property and other assets (farms, cattle, and money) may be the basis of one's power in the group. Reputation as the most powerful, forceful or resourceful, the one most in control, may contribute to one's place in the social hierarchy. In these regions, violence and brutal force is not uncommon and is often justified in the name of honor (Hassan, 1995)

Inherent in the code of honor is the act and process of holding women's sexuality as one of the central features of a man's or his family's honor/izzat. Regardless of the country, culture and region, it seems that this theme is common in all societies that follow the code of honor (Ortner, 1978; Ortner & Whitehead, 1981). The culture of honor in Pakistan carries expectations from women to be chaste in their behavior and demeanor, and men to be their custodian and controllers (Hassan, 1995; Korson & Sabzwari, 1984). Since women's sexuality becomes territorial, it translates into viewing and treating women as men's property, which may be seen as commodifying the female (I will address the issue of commodification later in this chapter). Thus control of this 'property' may also facilitate in establishing one's reputation as dominant or forceful.

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Sev'er and Yurdakul (2001) point out that in contemporary western societies, individual perpetrators may show jealousy and possessiveness leading to control of the woman and her sexuality. In the culture of honor, however, the whole society is invested in controlling her sexuality by controlling and restricting her behavior.

In Pakistan as well, the society's obsession with women's' chastity creates many forms of control, not the least of which is violence. For example, community pressures for men to control and maintain the chastity of their female family members, even if it means physical chastisement, may be seen as a form of social control. The rules of conduct and the definition of what is chaste and proper may vary among the different ethnic, socioeconomic and regional groups (Hassan, 1995; Mandelbaum, 1988; Shaheed, 1991). At times these rules and definitions may be broad and amorphous so that any act of self-determination (such as seeking a divorce) or an otherwise apparently innocuous act (such as wanting to visit one's family of origin) may be seen as improper behavior for the woman and as such, a threat to familial integrity (Amnesty International, 1998; 1999b; Constable, 2000; Griffin, 1996). While older women in the families may be the ones to teach and transfer these values to the younger females

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(Shah, 1997), men are raised to consider themselves guardians of the chastity of 'their women' (Abraham, 1999; Korson & Sabzwari, 1984). Thus men are allocated the task of being the moral custodians of women. Use of verbal and physical abuse by these custodians may be seen as appropriate, even desirable, if any female's conduct is seen as sexual misconduct. Violence in the name of addressing any known or alleged transgressions is expected and even rewarded (as in lenient sentences by the judiciary) (Hassan, 1995).

While the brutal forms of honor related to violence against women seen in the tribal and feudal regions of Pakistan are not necessarily representative of all male female interactions in that society, the notions of izzat and shame are certainly omnipresent in all walks of life (Mandelbaum, 1988). I propose that in the occurrence of domestic violence in Pakistani homes, concepts of honor may be intricately involved in the motivation for and sustenance of the violence. For example, families may vary in their definition of what is proper conduct for a wife/daughter-in-law. Similarly, men may vary in their threshold for tolerating threats to their honor. Future research could explore whether in fact there are differentials in these thresholds and whether these

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thresholds are moderated by individual or cultural factors.

Even within the marital dyad, the husband and wife may have different personal meanings as to what izzat is and what is necessary to maintain it. Notions of honor may also color the victim's as well as the perpetrator's view of the violence itself. For example, the perpetrator and the bystanders may see marital violence as justified if it is a reaction to loss of honor and the resulting feelings of shame. The victim herself may either feel her own honor diminished by the fact of being abused or beaten, or may feel so shamed by her perpetrator's accusations that she too may see the violence as justified. Self-justifications in the name of honor may also alienate the victim from her own pain. On the other hand, bearing the pain of familial violence silently may itself be seen as a mark of honor. Revealing the truth of domestic violence may either be a matter of increased prestige (if the man claims revenge or retribution for real or alleged affronts to his honor) or a matter of shame (revealing family secrets). Future empirical research could employ focus groups, structured or non-structured interviews, or attitude surveys to explore the above mentioned hypotheses.

The response of the community and the state agencies may also be deeply influenced by the notions of honor and

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whether it justifies the violence. Since a man's shame is shared by the community, reclaiming honor may be in everybody's interest. If this reclamation is in the form of violence, there will be little deterrence from the community. All these are hypothetical suppositions that imply complex meanings that marital violence can take within the culture of honor. I call them hypothetical suppositions because they are based upon theoretical literature presented so far. Future research would be necessary to attest whether the above mentioned speculations are true for the Pakistani society.

For example, research could address the relationship between patriarchal beliefs and beliefs and practices within the culture of honor. One could also explore the notions of honor itself; how it is defined by Pakistanis, and whether there are any differences in beliefs and practices as related to one's honor, in different regional, (urban vs. rural, feudal vs. tribal), ethnic (Baluchi, Pathani, Sindhi, Punjabi, Memon, etc.), and socioeconomic groups.

Research could also address beliefs about personal or familial honor and how they relate to attitudes towards women and attitudes towards domestic violence. An important question to pose would be: what kinds of

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husbands/families engage in violence towards women in the name of honor, and how are they different from other husbands/families who do not engage in such violence? In case of the latter group, one could explore how husbands/families negotiate threats to their honor and prestige without having to resort to violence. Since honor/izzat are inherently positive concepts, research could address how these concepts may be used to prevent violence. For example, one could explore with the Pakistani couple how they justify relating the negative acts of aggression to positive notions of honor/izzat. This process could involve looking at and questioning the disparity between the notions of violence (negative) and honor (positive).

Research could also address the relationship between notions of honor and perceptions of women's sexuality. This would include the perceptions of men as well as women, since women, as mothers or family elders, are also reported to perpetuate the cycle of control and oppression of women in the name of honor (Fernandez, 1997; Lateef, 1999). It would also be important to study how women perceive men's control over them (perhaps they too see it as a matter of their own prestige) and how they negotiate their way through such controls, within their marriages and within

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the society in general. Finally, research could also explore the notion of shame (sharm) and how it relates to the different concepts presented in Figure 2.

I believe that by studying how Pakistanis function as individuals, couples and families within the dictates of the culture of honor, the mental health professional may discover strategies of resistance and coping that are already in place and being used as deterrents to domestic violence. Such discoveries could then be used as interventions when working with the issue of domestic violence and wife abuse within the Pakistani society. Information from such research could be helpful in forming intervention models and could facilitate the mental health practitioner in working with the Pakistani perpetrators (husband or family) or survivors (wives, daughters- or sisters-in-law) within the framework of the Pakistani individual's worldview.

Thus far, I have discussed the larger system of patriarchy in Pakistan and its impact on gender relations as well as on domestic violence. I then looked at those aspects of the culture of honor that complement the basic tenets of patriarchy. I also discussed the relevance of the notions of honor and shame in addressing domestic violence, followed by implications or future research and

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interventions. I will now include gender role socialization in Pakistan as the next component in the present conceptualization of domestic violence and wife abuse in Pakistan.

The Subsystem of Gender Role Socialization

Although gender role socialization merely implies socialization of individuals based upon their sex, a closer look at this process, both in Pakistan as well as in other eastern and western societies, reveals deep strains of gender asymmetry and inequality that this process generates (Koss et al. 1994; Lipman-Blumen, 1984). Gender role socialization when embedded in a patriarchal ideology is based upon its dominance/submission paradigm that assumes men's right to control women (Abraham, 1999; Brock-Utne, Walker & Goldner, 1995). Additionally, I propose that notions of honor/izzat as related to women's behavior in general and their sexuality in particular, and as related to men's status as custodians, may also be expressed in gender role socialization in Pakistan.

Research in western societies indicates that there is a correlation between traditional gender role identification and attitudes towards dominance (Criss & Johnson, 1989), attitudes towards violence against women (Twohy, 1995), and attitudes towards marital violence

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(Finn, 1986). I propose that gender role socialization may also have a bearing on violence against women in Pakistan. This is because cultural beliefs, religious justifications and gender role socialization in Pakistan, all reveal beliefs about men's dominance and superiority over women (Ali, 1994; Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987; Shaheed, 1991; Winkvist & Akhtar, 2000).

Some writers see the very notion of male authority and control of female sexuality as an important aspect of the social construction of masculinity and femininity in South Asia (Abraham, 1999; Mandelbaum, 1988). Generally, women in South Asia are brought up to be passive and restrained in their demeanor (Mandelbaum, 1988). They are raised to be docile, subservient and self-sacrificing (Abraham, 1999) so that they grow up to be 'good' daughters, sisters, wives and mothers. They are taught that their main purpose in life is to serve and preserve the family. They are taught that their conduct inside and outside the home and their obligations to the family and the community/kin are crucial to the sustenance of the group and the reputation of the family (Ayyub, 2000; Ramirez, 1999).

Since the Pakistani society, like other South Asian societies, holds traditional gender role ideals, I propose that gender role identification may be intimately mingled

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with the act and experience of domestic violence and wife abuse in Pakistan as well. For example, if control is akin to masculinity (Abraham, 1999) and self-sacrifice is akin to femininity (Abraham, 1999; Hussain & Shah, 1991; Preisser, 1999), then a man's infliction of abuse on his wife and the woman's experience of the abuse, may be confused to some degree with their roles as husband and wife.

I do not mean to imply that there is a direct or linear relationship between concepts of masculinity and femininity and wife abuse. As mentioned in the second chapter, any single act of domestic violence and wife abuse may involve a number of factors such as individual or personality factors, or situational, familial or socioeconomic factors. However, it may be helpful to include cultural definitions of masculinity and femininity and how these may interact with other individual and situational factors that lead to domestic violence. Additionally, control or violence within the domestic sphere may lie along a continuum of abuse, rather than on two opposing points of violence and non-violence. Thus a man with a traditional sense of masculinity may be controlling but not necessarily physically or emotionally abusive of his wife. Future research could address the

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complex interactions between notions of masculinity and femininity and how they are played out at various points on the continuum of domestic violence and wife abuse.

Gender role socialization may also influence a woman's experience of the abuse. As Preisser (1999) points out, South Asian woman are expected to be self-sacrificing, obedient to their husbands and to their elders, to be loyal to the family and kin, and to uphold values of familial integrity. Preisser sees all these gender role expectations as pressing factors that may keep the woman in an abusive marriage. This was reinforced in a study by Hassouneh-Phillips (2001).

Hassouneh-Phillips (2001) conducted in-depth interviews with seventeen American Muslim women who had endured marital abuse. According to her subjects, the experience of abuse from their husbands was accompanied by pressures from their community to be obedient to their husbands and to uphold the values of the community. Hassouneh-Phillips (2001) reported that this process led to a state of self-negation in her respondents, in that they "silenced their inner voices" which helped them "tolerate what they would otherwise find intolerable" (2001, p. 941). In this study, verbalizations from the abused women indicated that their inner conflicts were related to the

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their traditional roles as wives and as members of the larger community

> I allowed my husband to define who I was going to talk to, what I was going to wear...if I could watch TV, if I could have friends over, if I could read a certain book...He felt that was his Islamic right to be able to dictate this to me, and so I thought yes, as a Muslim woman, I had to submit to my husband (Hassouneh-Phillips, 2001).

Thus, gender role expectations had a direct effect on how the participants experienced, processed, and coped with abuse from their husbands.

Meeta Mehrotra (1999) does caution though, against viewing South Asian women's response to marital abuse as mere passivity. According to her, the "myth of the passive victim" regarding battered women disregards women's direct and indirect efforts to resist abuse from their husbands. Mehrotra (1999) conducted in-depth interviews with thirty South Asian women residing in America. Five of these women had been abused by their husbands, eleven women were counselors at shelters for battered South Asian women, and fourteen were married women who did not report abuse in their marriages.

Her data revealed that "traditional division of labor

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in the family shaped the resistance tactics" that the abused women used (1999, p. 632). Thus the domestic sphere, the woman's arena, became her base for resistance. For example, abused women engaged in direct resistance by refusing to cook, spitting in their husband's food, or cooking for everyone else except for the husband. One counselor in Mehrotra's study told about a woman whose abusive husband never allowed her any say in decision-making. After one such incident where her husband refused her participation in making a decision, the woman reportedly cut up all her husband's underwear. Other resistant or retaliatory actions included secretly doing the very things their controlling husbands had prohibited them from doing, refusing to have sex with the husbands, or ignoring them and refusing to talk to them. At times, the abused women also asked family or community members to intervene, although one survivor reported that this tactic increased the abuse from her husband.

Indirect resistance from abused women took the form of nagging or making snide remarks, although Mehrotra (1999) states that such tactics are commonly used by South Asian wives in non-abusive marriages as well. She believes that the commonality of indirect tactics used by South Asian wives is indicative of the power imbalance within the

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marital unit (Mehrotra, 1999). By the accounts of her respondents, some of these tactics did succeed in realigning the power imbalance between the couple. For example, speaking of the woman who cut up all her husband's underwear, a counselor stated:

> The fact that (she) even did that really helped in changing the dynamics of the relationship, where he realized that this women is not so stupid, and that she can do things. It really helped to change the perspective of that relationship (Mehrotra, 1999, p. 633).

Thus, one may conclude from the above accounts that gender role socialization impacts how wife abuse may be experienced as well as how the woman will cope with it. Women's efforts to counter the abuse and domination, however indirect or invisible, may still be their way to feel empowered.

As discussed in previous chapter, one aspect central to gender roles in Pakistan, which may also be relevant to domestic violence, is the institution of purdah or veiling. While purdah literally means to veil or cover parts of the female body, its symbolic meaning is far reaching in that it covers a wide variety of behaviors and actions that may be culturally construed as immodest for women (Mandelbaum,

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1988). Cultural traditions regarding veiling, fortified by deliberate misinterpretations of religion, have successfully created division of labor and division of space between the two genders (Hassan, 1995). Peculiar to the eastern traditions, the institution of purdah/veiling serves to solidify the message of gender role socialization. The division of space in the name of propriety and modesty (for example, veiling) limits the lives of Pakistani females to the walls of the domestic or private spheres.

Although the definition of private spheres seems to change in different areas of the country depending upon the region and socioeconomic class (Mumtaz & Shaheed, 1987; Weiss, 1992), the bottom line remains the same; women's movement and freedom are typically defined *for* her. Hassan (1995) sees the division of space as a major factor in keeping the issue of domestic violence and wife abuse a private matter in Pakistan. Closely tied to the division of space is the division of labor. The woman's role and work are socially prescribed around her domestic sphere, while men have free access to both private/domestic and public spheres (Hassan, 1995). This is an effective form of control of women as a group.

As mentioned before, such division of space restricts

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women's movement and their ability to access resources such as education, vocation, or even social welfare organizations. It also keeps them secluded from other women, decreasing their chances to connect as a group, either for social support or for economic, political or social activism. Isolation is commonly seen in as a factor of control in wife abuse, both in Western (Marshall, 1996; Sonkin, Martin & Walker, 1985) as well as South Asian families (Mehrotra, 1999; Preisser, 1999). However, it may be difficult to detect isolation as an abusive tactic from the perpetrator, when the woman's seclusion is already seen as a norm, as it is in Pakistan.

Additionally, when faced with violence within the home, this division of space and labor may add to the woman's victimization, because she may lack the resources and the confidence to seek refuge or redress. Unfamiliarity with the public space, both in terms of practical matters (never having worked for money) as well as for modesty (societal disapproval for moving freely with men in the public sphere) may be major deterrents to leaving the abusive marriage for the Pakistani woman.

In the light of the preceding discussion, gender role socialization may be an important arena to research when addressing domestic violence and wife abuse issues in

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Pakistan. Research on gender role socialization in Pakistan could facilitate an understanding of how masculinity and femininity is defined by Pakistani men and women, and whether it relates to patriarchal beliefs or notions of honor. One could look at gender role identification and how it may be related to attitudes towards women in general and towards domestic violence and wife abuse in particular. One could also explore whether gender role identification is related to Pakistani men's justification of wife abuse, and whether gender role socialization impacts the perceptions of social and legal agencies in their response to domestic violence.

Following Mehrotra's (1999) study, research could address what direct and indirect strategies Pakistani women use to combat physical, emotional or sexual abuse from the husbands or in-laws. One could also explore the social, emotional and economic resources that Pakistani women use to empower themselves, given the restraints of purdah. For example, Anita Weiss (1992) conducted a detailed study of 12 working women in an inner city area of Lahore (one of the five major cities of Pakistan). Weiss (1992) found that women negotiated with restraints of purdah and economic demands of their households by working from inside the home (sewing clothes, stringing flower garlands, doing

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embroidery, or assembling plastic toys) and selling their products through middle men.

The researcher and clinician may keep in view that empowerment for some Pakistani women may only mean a lesser degree of constraints rather than complete freedom of movement as there is for women in the West. For example, in Weiss' sample, 96% of the women considered purdah to be a central feature in their lack of personal freedom. However, their definition of freedom consisted of being able to take off the burqa (a fitted garment worn over clothes to cover the face and the whole body) and putting on a chadar (a loose cloth that can be wrapped around the upper body). Thus, freedom for these women meant wearing a less stringent form of purdah rather than completely abandoning it (Weiss, 1992). Hence, in addressing the impact of traditional gender roles on prevalence of domestic violence in Pakistan, it is also important to study how these roles shape the women's assertions and definitions of freedom. Thus, instead of imposing western notions, it would be important to include the Pakistani woman's own voice, experiences and perceptions in charting the course for gender equality inn Pakistan.

Thus far, I have discussed traditional gender role socialization and identifications as relevant to

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understanding the process and experience of domestic violence and wife abuse in Pakistan. One aspect, which may be viewed as part of gender role socialization, and may be particularly relevant to violence against women, is their sexual objectification. The following section addresses objectification of Pakistani women in relation to domestic violence and wife abuse.

The Subsystem of Objectification and Commodification of Pakistani Women

Within the subsystem of gender role socialization is the subsystem of sexual objectification of women. As discussed in chapter II, sexual objectification is the act and process of reducing a person to her sexuality, as if a specific aspect of her person represents her very personhood (Bartky, 1990). The South Asian women's sexuality and their reproductive roles are generally seen as central to their role at home and in the society at large (Abraham, 1999; Lateef, 1999; Shah; 1997). This may be seen as a form of objectification which narrows down women's social roles and behaviors as well as the very space they may dwell in, based upon their sexuality.

The western literature on sexual objectification of women generally discusses its society's tendency for voyeurism of women's bodies (Bartky, 1990; Brooks, 1997;

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Levant, 1997). This results in women being preoccupied with their looks and appearance, while experiencing themselves as objects to be observed (Bartky, 1990; Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997). However, the societal concerns with women's sexuality in South Asia, certainly in Pakistan, revolve around an emphasis on hiding or shrouding her sexuality in veils, or attempting to limit it to the domestic sphere (Hassan, 1995; Mandelbaum, 1988; Rauf, 1987; Shah, 1997; Shaheed, 1991). Thus while the western society seems to place the female body out in the public to be looked at, the South Asian society attempts to hide her body away, lest it be subjected to male voyeurism and lust. Or perhaps, to protect men from the woman's sexual power, as indicated by Mernissi (1987). Future research could address how sexual objectification of Pakistani women differs from that in the western societies.

Sexual objectification of women in the west seems to be complemented by a socialized tendency in men for voyeurism (Brooks, 1997) and nonrelational sex (Levant, 1997). In South Asia and other Middle Eastern societies, emphasis on women's sexuality is accompanied by societal expectations for men to be custodians and controllers of women's sexuality (Abraham, 1999; Baker et al., 1999; Sev'er & Yurdakul, 2001). Although there is not sufficient

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literature on masculinity and men's sexuality in South Asia, I wonder if the cultural notion of men as custodians and controllers of women's sexuality encourages the South Asian men's sense of entitlement for voyeurism or for sexual violation of women, with impunity. This could be one of the areas that could be addressed in research. Certainly, as reported by Human Rights Watch (1999), societal attitudes in Pakistan often involve holding the harassed, raped or otherwise violated woman as generally culpable, while very few perpetrators are apprehended. Even in the absence of direct violence, sexual harassment of women in pubic places may also objectify them (Niaz, 1994). In this writer's personal experience and observation, it is certainly not uncommon in some parts of Pakistan for women to be harassed by male stares, cat calls, name calling, sexual remarks or physical touching, especially if the woman is not modestly dressed, i.e., is wearing revealing clothes. Sexual harassment of women also occurs in some parts of the United States. I believe that such public harassment not only objectifies women, it may also be seen as an indirect form of social control because it subjects women to vigilance from the whole society.

Regardless of the distinctions in sexual objectification of women in the western versus South Asian

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societies, the common theme in all these scenarios is the emphasis on the female body and sexuality. As Bartky (1990) points out, when this identification and representation of women with their bodies permeates into every aspect of their lives, it becomes a form of oppression. In addition to being a direct form of oppression, sexual objectification may also contribute to what Spretnak calls "dehumanizing 'the other'" which may lead to further devaluation of women as a group (Spretnak, 1983, p. 106). This process of dehumanizing and seeing the objectified person as "less than", becomes a justification of their control, since "objects don't have wills or complex inner lives and needs that must be taken into account; they can simply be handled, used or dealt with" (Johnson 1997, p. 204). Indeed, research indicates that cultural and sexual objectification of women may lead to increased aggression towards them as well as to increased tolerance to such aggression (Donnerstein & Berkowitz, 1981; Donnerstein, et al., 1987; Dworkin, 1981; Stombler, 1994).

Because sexual objectification and commodification of women is also prevalent in Pakistan (Amnesty International, 1998; 1999b; Hassan, 1995; Shah, 1997), I would extend Johnson's (1997) logic to Pakistani population and

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hypothesize that sexual objectification of women in Pakistan may play a part in domestic violence. One may speculate that seeing the woman as an object, devoid of her subjective experiences, may justify or at least minimize the act of violence towards her. Research in this area could address the sexual objectification of Pakistani women and whether it is related to explanations of domestic violence.

Margaret Abraham, in her article "Sexual Abuse in South Asian Immigrant Marriages" (1999), discusses the norms around sexuality and marriage among the South Asian population. According to her, the social definition of masculinity as synonymous with power, virility, and control of female sexuality, along with notions of women as "the sexually exploitable other" (1999, p.4) may be some of the reasons behind marital rape in South Asian immigrant communities. While there is no data available on marital rape in Pakistani marriages, I would hypothesize that given the high estimates of domestic violence, coupled with sexual and physical objectification of women in that society, marital rape is probably not uncommon, only unreported. Again, research in this area may enlighten us on the incidence and prevalence of marital rape in Pakistan and its relationship to objectification of women.

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Future research in Pakistan could address numerous questions regarding sexual objectification of women. For example, one could look at sexual objectification of Pakistani women and how it may be related to marital interactions, especially those of control and dominance from the husband. One could look at objectifying attitudes and their relation to the incidence of emotional, sexual or physical aggression at home. One could also look at sexually objectifying attitudes in the community and their attitudes towards wife abuse or their response to victims of domestic violence.

One could also explore whether the victim has self-objectifying attitudes and whether these influence her perceptions and her experience of the abuse. Western literature indicates that self-objectification may lead to higher incidence of depression, anxiety and eating disorders among women (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997; Noll & Fredrickson, 1998). I would hypothesize that if the Pakistani woman is entrenched in cultural notions that sexually objectify her, she may also view herself as an object. Research could explore whether objectification of Pakistani women results in any physical or mental health risks for them. One could also address how being objectified may impact the women's ability to validate

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their experience of the abuse, or their ability to exert control in abusive marriages.

All of these questions would not only increase an understanding of how objectification is played out in violence against wives, it may give some clues to interventions. For example, if research bears out a relationship between the husband's objectifying attitudes and his controlling or violent behavior towards his wife, then the mental health practitioner could explore with the perpetrator how (if at all) he relates to his wife's subjective experience of him, his controlling behavior and his violence, and how this bears on their relationship. As mentioned earlier, objectification of a woman focuses on one aspect of her person, at the expense of ignoring her subjective experience and disregarding her as a whole person (Johnson, 1997). The culture of honor and the notions of purdah, both closely linked to female sexuality, solidify the sexual objectification of Pakistani women.

This objectification turns into commodification when women are treated as commodities to be traded or owned, as in increasing economic or political wealth through a daughter's marriage (Shah, 1997). Commodification may also involve raping, mutilating or murdering a woman to settle scores or avenge honor (Amnesty International, 1999b;

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Griffin, 1996). It is my belief that violence against women in the name of honor is the height of commodification because at that point she does not remain a person, not even an objectified person, and instead, becomes a mere representation of a seemingly lofty notion of honor; a commodity that satisfies honor. Perhaps one important aspect in addressing violence against Pakistani women, whether in the home or outside of it, is to address the invisibility of the woman's personhood, when the violence is shrouded in sentiments of honor.

Thus far I have looked at patriarchy, the culture of honor, gender role ideology and objectification and commodification of women in Pakistan. I suggested that these factors are examples of cultural violence, i.e., those aspects of the Pakistani culture, which may be involved in perpetuating wife abuse. In this discussion, I also pointed out some of my own speculations and hypotheses as to how these factors may be pertinent to wife abuse in Pakistan, along with suggestions for research to test out the hypotheses. I will now look at some other factors which are not necessarily part of cultural violence, but which may, nevertheless, be important considerations in understanding domestic violence in Pakistan.

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Additional Considerations in Conceptualizing Domestic Violence in Pakistan

In addition to the factors discussed so far, some other factors that are relevant to the Pakistani culture must also be considered when addressing domestic violence. These factors may not be directly related to violence against wives. However, they are relevant for the researcher and the practitioner to bear in mind when studying or working with domestic violence in Pakistani families.

The Importance of Marriage and Family in Kinship-Based Societies

Literature indicates that most Asian cultures tend to value interest of the family or group over individual interests (Ho, 1990; Shon & Ja, 1982). This is true for South Asian cultures as well where conformity and interdependence is encouraged and where individuals are expected to place the family's interests before their own (Preisser, 1999; Segal, 1991). Similarly, discussions of Muslim societies in parts of Middle East indicate similar trends of allocentric thinking (Haj-Yahia, 2000; Sherif, 1999). However, Ibrahim, Ohnishi, and Sandhu (1997) have presented a model of Asian American identity development among South Asian Americans in which they discuss some core

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features of South Asian people as a group. According to them, South Asian cultures do encourage individuality but "within the boundaries and limits of the family" (1997, p. 45). Thus while personal achievements are encouraged and expected of family members, these must take place within the confines of family hierarchies and group relationships. In line with the reverence for the group is the ideal of humility that every South Asian must assume, irrespective of their personal achievements. In the dominant Euro-American culture, this tendency for humility may be misconstrued as a low-self concept (Ibrahim et al., 1997).

I propose that the concept of individualism within the context of family and group as proposed by Ibrahim et al. (1997) may fit well within the culture of honor. In the honor system, where prestige and izzat are fluid and forever in need of affirmation, individual achievements may be one way of increasing the group's prestige, and as such, may be encouraged among individual family members. However, when prestige and honor are defined by the larger group, and it is the larger group that gives the final affirmation of honor, then it would make sense to always go back to the group as a frame of reference, the ultimate definition of who and what one should aspire to be. Thus the group is the mirror of one's social standing and

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without the reference to the group, it would be difficult to ascertain one's place within the prestige hierarchy.

This is not to say that acclamation of honor and prestige is the only reason that the South Asians define themselves in terms of their family, group or culture. Indeed, in this writer's experience with the South Asian community, most South Asians, who consist of a variety of religions, cultures, languages, and nationalities, claim pride in their connections to the family and the larger group.

The allocentric nature of the South Asian societies is important to consider in the instance of domestic violence. For example, the importance of group values on family harmony may serve to be a deterrent for the potential abuser. The pressure to conform to the group norms may override one's motivations for abuse. On the other hand, when the abuse does occur, the victim of abuse may be faced with a conflict between loyalty to the family, making sacrifices for the 'good of the family' and the larger group, and addressing her own individual needs for safety and resolution. Also, societal expectations of humility (Ibrahim et al. 1997) may interfere with her ability to recognize and/or voice her own needs. In other words, complaining of abuse may be contrary to societal

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expectations of humility, which discourage drawing attention to oneself.

Societal and Religious Emphasis on the Institution of Marriage

In most group-oriented societies, the family is considered a crucial aspect in the maintenance of group cohesion (Ho, 1990; Segal, 1991; Shon & Ja, 1982). In Pakistan, like other South Asian cultures, marriage is seen to bring families together and strengthen them as groups (Korson & Sabzwari, 1984). Thus, marriage is seen not only as a contract between individuals but between two families and their kinship-based groups. According to Daneshpour (1998), while marriage in western societies may be seen as a process of separation and individuation of individuals, in Muslim and other South Asian cultures, it is seen as a process of integration and connectedness between two families, resulting in a more complex family system. Given the impact of the institution of marriage on group cohesion and stability, extended family members are often closely involved in arranging the union and may be invested in keeping the union together (Sherif, 1999).

In times of marital stress within the unit, the extended family members may play a key role in negotiating between the couple. In the context of domestic violence,

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the extended family members may either facilitate as mediators, pressuring the perpetrator to avoid violence, or may pressure the victim to stay in the marriage despite the abuse, to keep the family unit together. Either way, the extended family and kin may have an influential role in the abeyance or sustenance of wife abuse and their role must be considered when looking at each individual case (Preisser, 1999). Hence the role of family and kin could be explored as a potential intervention in cases or wife abuse.

In addition to the cultural mandates, religious teachings also reinforce the importance of marriage as an institution. Bahira Sherif, who conducted a 20 month ethnographic study of 20 Egyptian households, noted that "throughout the Islamic world, marriage is the heart of social and religious life," (1999, p.619). In the Muslim tradition, marriage is considered a social and religious obligation of all Muslims (Sherif, 1999). While premarital sex is prohibited and dating and courtship are socially disapproved, celibacy is also discouraged for both men and women (Sherif, 1999). Marriage is the only socially and religiously approved avenue for sexual union and intimacy between individuals and the only desirable context for procreation (Hassouneh-Phillips, 2001; Sherif, 1999). The institution of marriage is seen as central to the

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functioning of society. As such, marriage is seen as the norm, the most desirable and inevitable act for all Muslim adults and is considered a part of every Muslim's religious practice (Hassouneh-Phillips, 2001). In Muslim tradition, marriage is a legal, social and religious contract which binds the man to provide for and protect his wife and children, and obligates the wife to obey her husband in all lawful matters (Sherif, 1999).

The importance of marriage and the formation of a family unit, placed in Muslim societies leads to a great pressure on individuals to get married and stay married (Hassouneh-Phillips, 2001, Sherif, 1999). Generally, a single person may be seen as going against the norm (Hassouneh-Phillips, 2001). While divorce is allowed in the religion of Islam and women have the right to file for divorce, in Pakistan, the practice is typically discouraged by family members because it may lead to dishonor and shame (Amnesty International, 1999b; Ayyub, 2000). For example, a common expression used by family elders when a women is getting married in Pakistan, is to instruct her that she is going to her husband's house as a bride and that she should only leave from his house in a coffin. As a result of such pressures, the woman who faces marital abuse may resist leaving her marriage, because the option of being

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single/divorced may be socially disapproved.

Societal teachings that women are responsible to keep the family together, may also lead the woman to believe that she must endure the abuse in order to fulfill her role. Finally, religious and social assertions that the wife must obey her husband (Hassouneh-Phillips, 2001) may prevent the women from seeking help and may force to stay in the abusive marriage. Empirical research could address how societal pressures on women to stay married and to keep the family together, impact her experience and her struggle with domestic violence.

Family Structure and Family Hierarchies in Pakistan

One aspect of the family structure that is relevant to the Pakistani society but which is not so obvious in the western literature includes the different levels of hierarchies within the family. A number of writers have proposed that in addition to rigid hierarchies based upon gender, age and generation status may also be central to the distribution of power within the South Asian family (Almeida & Dolan-Delvecchio, 1999; Daneshpour, 1998; Ibrahim, et al. 1997; Segal, 1991). This must be considered because often wife abuse in the South Asian society may take place within the context of extended families (Amnesty International, 1998; Fernandez, 1997;

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Hassan, 1995; Lateef, 1999; Preisser, 1999).

With the interaction of age, gender and generation status, several levels of hierarchies may exist in the family. Older women in the family may play the role of matriarchs and may to some degree share the power with older males over younger males and females of the family (Lateef, 1999; Mandelbaum, 1988). Also, married women may have greater status than unmarried ones, mothers may have greater power and status than childless women, and mothers of sons have may greater status than mothers who have borne daughters only (Lateef, 1999; Winkvist & Akhter, 2000).

In the case of a joint family system, several families may reside within the same household (Segal, 1991). In such a household, each nuclear family's age-, gender-, and generation-based hierarchies may juxtapose upon the hierarchies of other families present in the system, resulting in a complex pattern of relationships within the joint family system. Additionally, in line with the kinship ideology in South Asian cultures, a husband's bond with his parents and his extended family members may take priority over his relationship with his wife (Almeida & Dolan-Delvecchio, 1999). Thus the marital dyad may be lower in the familial hierarchy than the parent child dyad (husband and his parents; wife and her children).

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These intricacies of familial hierarchies are important to consider and explore, because in some instances, the same interwoven levels of hierarchies may lead to violence at several levels (physical or psychological abuse from husband as well as in-laws). Indeed, a number of incidents of domestic violence among South Asians have included extended family members as perpetrators or participants of the violence (Abraham, 1999; Fernandez, 1997; Hassan, 1995; Johnson & Johnson, 2001; Ramirez, 1999). As mentioned in chapter I, in some instances the husband's immediate or extended family may be direct participants in emotional and/or physical abuse of the woman; in other instances, they may become indirect participants by instigating or coaxing the husband to abuse his wife (Lateef, 1999; Ramirez, 1999).

In some instances, direct abuse may come from the in-laws while the husband may be a passive observer of his wife's abuse (Dasgupta, 2000). In other instances, the extended family members may use their influence to minimize the reality of abuse or pressure the victim to tolerate the abuse (Preisser, 1999). Thus for a victim of domestic violence in Pakistan, deference to elder family members, her duty to keep the family together, or her responsibility to maintain the family honor, all may impinge on her

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efforts to cope with the abuse.

It should be noted, however, that the mere presence of multilevel hierarchies within the family does not necessarily translate into violence. Where family hierarchies are the norm and the members follow the roles assigned to them based upon their age, gender, and generational status, the hierarchical set up may result in codes of respect and propriety between the family members (Ibrahim, et al. 1997).

Segal (1991), in her analysis of Asian Indian families, points out how beliefs in conformity to the family hierarchies, and obligation and duty to the family contributes to familial integrity and stability. In instances of wife abuse, the power and influence of the family elders may be employed to curb the abuse. They may serve as buffers and either monitor or intervene in the instance of abuse from the husband (Preisser, 1999). I propose that this would be an important area for research to address: when, how, and why do the family elders intervene; what impact do they have on curbing domestic violence; and how can the victim access their help. In instances where the family elders facilitate abuse, research could address why, when and how this facilitation takes place and what factors would be necessary to stop the

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abuse. Such information could be developed as part of the intervention program, since involving the family elders may increase the abused woman's resources in coping with any future abuse.

Abuse of Women by Female Family Members

One aspect of domestic violence from extended family members is the observation that in a number of these instances, older women of the family may often facilitate the violence (Lateef, 1999; Shah, 1997). This is especially true in instances where mothers-in-law either actively participate in the violence or otherwise instigate, encourage, or condone their sons' emotional or physical violence against the wives (Johnson & Johnson, 2001; Lateef, 1999).

Nafisa Shah (1997), in her discussion of women in the rural Sindh (one of the four provinces of Pakistan), notes that control of women's sexuality and their movements through notions of purdah seem to relax when women become menopausal and/or post menopausal. She notes that in these parts of Pakistan, menopause indicates a "termination of womanhood" (1997, p. 31) with decreased emphasis on segregation and seclusion of older women. At this point of their lives, when women are able to enjoy relatively greater freedom of movement, and lesser constraints on

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their behavior, they achieve the status of "honorary males" (1997, p. 33). Ironically these older women- honorary males- continue to enforce the same restrictions and vigilance over the younger females which they themselves experienced as young women (Shah, 1997). In doing so, they contribute to the sustenance of gender inequality between the sexes. One cannot help but wonder at women's participation in their own oppression as a group, as discussed below. One hypothesis may be that these women are so entrenched in patriarchal ideology and notions of honor that they too see the younger women's control and oppression as crucial to the maintenance of social order. Another hypotheses may be that older women perpetuate abuse on younger women as a result of their own cognitive dissonance. In other words, in order to justify their own humiliation and pain as young abused wives, these older women may impose the same violence on the younger generation.

Lateef (1999), in her discussion of wife abuse among Indo-Fijians, looks at older womens' participation in the oppression of younger women. She considers this trend to be reflective of the immense power of gender role ideologies, where both men and women promote women's oppression. However, she goes on to state that gender role

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ideologies per se offer only a partial explanation of women's abuse of other women. According to Lateef (1999), an understanding of violence by mothers-in-law towards their sons' wives must take into account the context of the oppressed and possibly abused lives these older women have lived themselves. The suffering and abuse that these women may have endured as young wives may be seen as an investment in their of role of subservient wives and dutiful mothers. Their hope is that by bearing with the oppression and abuse with patience, they will eventually earn status and power in their old age, when it is *their* turn to control younger women in the household, especially their daughters-in-law.

Lateef also talks about the "divergent interests of women" in the household as the new wife must compete for her husband with her mother-in-law, both trying to assert their influence within the household through their relationship to the same man. I believe that Lateef's (1999) comment fits in with an earlier observation that in traditional societies, women's roles and their status are built around their relationships with the significant men in their lives (Ortner & Whitehead, 1981). Thus these relationships, sometimes the only source of power for women, may become important assets to invest in and to

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compete for. As Lateef states, women in the same household may be in competition and conflict with each other to exert their influence, and to strengthen their relationships with the male members of the family. Sisters may compete with sisters-in-law and wives may compete with the mother-in-law. This sets in an atmosphere of division between the women rather than one of solidarity (Lateef, 1999).

Additionally, as mentioned earlier, in South Asian families, a man's loyalty to his parents and extended kin, specially his mother, may supercede his loyalty to his wife, while the wife's significant relationships tend to be with her children (Almeida & Dolan-Delvecchio, 1999). One can surmise that not only is a woman's status dependant on her relationships with the men in her life, she may have a stronger bond with her sons than with her husband. She may at least yield greater power in her relationship with her sons than in her relationship with her husband, the latter most likely being a relationship of dominance and subjugation. Since bearing sons brings greater respect for a woman in South Asian cultures (Lateef, 1999; Shah, 1997; Winkvist & Akhtar, 2000), of all of the relationships, her relationship with her sons may be her greatest asset. In such a scenario, the inclusion of a daughter-in-law would be seen as a threat to the older woman's strongest source

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of power. Thus perpetration or encouragement of violence towards the younger woman may be an effort to maintain the mother's power. If such were the case, the women would ironically be locked into a system of patriarchy, maintaining the same dynamics of submission-dominance, which may have generated the conflict in the first place.

According to Lateef (1999), women's efforts to compete for the men in the family may also be related to the women's economic dependence on the household. In the absence of economic independence, the domestic sphere may be a place of protection and sustenance for the women. As such, maintaining the status quo and asserting their place within the domestic sphere in spite of their own oppression, may be their only tactic for survival.

However, Lateef's contention would mean that women's violence against other women is prevalent only in those households where women do not work outside the house and are economically dependant on their menfolk. If this were true, there would be little or no violence from women against women where one of them is working outside the house. But evidence suggests that women employed outside the home may be just as vulnerable to violence at home, as those who are economically independent (Koss, et al., 1994). Thus while economic independence may mean greater

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resources for the abused woman, the lack of economic independence may not entirely explain the perpetuation of violence by women against women. Perhaps future research on wife abuse in households where both older and younger women work, may shed some light on these contentions.

In conclusion, violence or support of violence by older women towards their sons' wives may be seen as their efforts to assert their power, which they achieve after possibly enduring many years of abuse themselves. Even in the absence of abuse, women's relationships with their sons may have been the defining factor in their own status and power within the family and 'losing' their sons to their wives may be seen as a significant loss to the source of that power.

It should be noted that contrary to the concepts of patriarchy, culture of honor, gender role ideologies and sexual objectification and commodification, which I propose may be related to violence against women, the additional considerations discussed in the latter part of this chapter are not considered forms of violence in and of themselves. Thus the family structure and family hierarchies in Pakistan, or the social and religious meaning of marriage or family per se, do not necessarily promote control of or violence against women. However, I do believe that they

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are important to keep in mind because they may be indicative of a particular social set up and worldview prevalent in Pakistan. This worldview may have a bearing on how the perpetrator justifies his abuse, how the victim experiences it, and how the family and community react and respond to the abuse.

Some other factors, which have not been included in this discussion but should be considered in future analysis of domestic violence in Pakistan, might include socioeconomic factors, level of education, employment status, and regional, provincial, religious and ethnic differences. These factors may contribute to power differentials within the social hierarchies, both for men and women. As such, these factors may interact with the systems and subsystems presented in the current model, resulting in a more complex framework. Future research and theoretical inquiry may address these additional considerations. Future research could also include an empirical study of the conceptual model presented in this paper. Specifically, the research question could address the relationship between patriarchal beliefs, gender role ideologies, beliefs and practices of the culture of honor, and beliefs about sexual objectification and commodification of women. Research could address how the

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four concepts relate to each other and how they may be related to beliefs about domestic violence.

Summary and Conclusion

> The culture preaches, teaches, admonishes, eggs on, and dulls us into seeing exploitation and/or repression as normal and natural, or into not seeing them...at all (Galtung, 1990, p. 295).

For Galtung (1990), cultural forces can become forms of violence when they allow the existence or perpetuation of direct or indirect violence. The present dissertation utilized Galtung's theory of cultural violence to address domestic violence and wife abuse in Pakistan. In order to do so, I started with a discussion of cultural aspects related to domestic violence as evidenced in western theory and research. I approached this study from a feminist perspective, since the feminist perspective addresses the larger sociocultural belief system as relevant to understanding wife abuse. I then expanded this information to investigate domestic violence and wife abuse in Pakistan. Thus, drawing from the western literature, and then weaving that information with literature pertinent to Pakistan, I examined those aspects of the Pakistani culture, which I believe may play a crucial role in

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generating, condoning or perpetuating the phenomenon of domestic violence. In doing so, I narrowed my analysis to four concepts, which I proposed are relevant to understanding wife abuse in Pakistan. These concepts were patriarchy, the culture of honor, gender role socialization, and objectification and commodification of women.

In this last chapter, I presented these same concepts within an integrated model from which to address domestic violence in Pakistan. In this framework, patriarchy was presented as a larger belief system of social dominance and of men's superiority over women. The culture of honor was presented as a subsystem where aspects such as prestige hierarchies and notions of honor promote control and dominance of women. Gender role socialization, and objectification and commodification of women, were also presented as subsystems or structures of patriarchy through which the ideology of men's dominance over women is delivered and practiced. During the course of this discussion, I also pointed out implications for research and interventions.

In addition to the four concepts presented in model, I also discussed some cultural factors which may not be prominent in the western literature on domestic violence

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but which, I propose, may be quite relevant in addressing domestic violence and wife abuse in the Pakistani culture. These factors included the relevance of marriage in kinship-based societies, family structures and family hierarchies in Pakistan, the cultural and religious importance of the institution of marriage, and domestic violence by extended family members, including older women in the family.

This dissertation was predominantly focused on conceptual and theoretical aspects of wife abuse in Pakistan. Future research on the issues and hypotheses raised in this paper will be necessary in order to assess its applicability to issues pertinent to domestic violence and wife abuse in Pakistan. While the focus of this dissertation was cultural violence, I believe that an accurate understanding of how domestic violence impacts Pakistani homes would require addressing all three forms of the violence; direct, indirect/structural and cultural. Thus research and interventions would need to be addressed at all three levels. Based upon the material presented in this dissertation, following are some suggestions for interventions and research. These suggestions are by no means exhaustive. They are merely indicative of the directions that research and interventions could take.

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Suggestions for Research and Interventions

Research and Interventions to Address Direct Forms of Domestic Violence in Pakistan

At the direct or individual level, research could address the various forms of emotional, physical and sexual abuse inflicted on Pakistani wives. Statistics could be gathered regarding the incidence and prevalence of these different forms of abuse. Research could also address the perpetrator(s) and their characteristics, such as personality factors, psychosocial background, current life stressors, socioeconomic and employment status, ethnic or regional grouping etc., as well as their attitudes toward gender roles, objectification and commodification of women, and concepts of honor and patriarchy. One could look at the number of perpetrators (husband and/or extended family; female perpetrators) in the various cases of domestic violence. Victims of domestic violence could be interviewed or surveyed to explore their experiences of the abuse and any coping strategies that the victims may have used.

It would also be feasible to address the most common or frequent situations in which wife abuse occurs, and what factors do the perpetrator and victim believe lead to the violence. Research may also include how Pakistani children

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are affected in the violent home. Standardized measures could be developed to assess beliefs about domestic violence as well as measures to address different forms of domestic violence.

Interventions at the direct level may include looking at immediate needs of the victim, such as medical, psychological, legal, or economic help. Exploration of resources available to the couple may be necessary. These resources could either be social agencies, professional counselors, family members, or respected elder figures in the community. However, it would be important to consider whether reaching out to the community will curb the abuse or increase it. Presence of children and the impact of the abuse on children would need to be addressed. Issues of honor and what it means for the individuals involved may be helpful to explore. Gender role ideologies identified by the husband, wife, and family members, if they are involved, may also shed light on the power dynamics between the couple or the family members. The impact of the multiple layers of family hierarchies and their role in the abuse may be explored. The mental health professional would need to be careful not to disrupt the family hierarchies by taking on an authoritarian role. Instead, the practitioner may find ways to use the family

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hierarchies as resources in facilitating positive interventions.

The practitioner may explore with the victim how she empowers herself in the relationship, and what is its impact on the increase of decrease of the abuse. As mentioned earlier, the pertinence of personal, social, and religious meanings of marriage, family, violence, etc. may be helpful in understanding the worldview of the individual involved.

Research and Interventions to Address Indirect or Structural Forces that Facilitate Domestic violence in Pakistan

Structural violence includes perpetuation or condoning of abuse or violence by social institutions. Research at this level could involve addressing and documenting the ways in which the social institutions help, ignore, or perpetuate the problem of domestic violence. These institutions would include, social welfare agencies, both governmental and non-governmental (private), the police, the judicial system, and the state and governmental bodies. Research could document the response of these different agencies to cases of domestic violence. One could also conduct attitude surveys or focus groups to explore the attitudes and biases of the employees or workers of these

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agencies. It would also be feasible to study the kinds of resources available to these agencies (money, personnel, and networking) in order to handle cases of domestic violence. Public policy and state laws could be researched to see how they impede or facilitate the prevalence of domestic violence.

Interventions at this level would include educating and raising awareness regarding gender issues, gender inequality and violence. While the social awareness of this issue would be necessary in the whole society, special recipients of this education should include judges, police and other law enforcement officials, lawyers, and policy makers, since their biased responses may re-victimize the victims. Such education could be imparted through awareness raising workshops or conferences, as part of early training in the police force or as part of syllabi in law schools. Preisser (1999) offers a method to hold public officials responsible of their actions and policies to domestic violence. She suggests monitoring court cases and publicizing and challenging through the media, legal decisions and police actions related to cases of domestic violence.

Another intervention necessary at the structural level would be to compel the government and law and policy makers

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to recognize domestic violence as a crime. A concerted effort by social activists, women's organizations, human rights organizations, professional organizations (medical, psychological, social work, law) and journalists could all come together to create public awareness and pressure the concerned government bodies to address the issue of wife abuse and honor crimes seriously. Government could be pressured to change laws and legislation so that domestic violence is recognized as a crime. Such legislation could also ensure that honor crimes are meted with heavy punishment, rather than the light sentences they currently receive (Hassan, 1995).

Interventions would also include creation and maintenance of shelters for battered women and their children. Trained female workers could run these shelters so that abused women who are used to veiling, feel comfortable in receiving help there. Special police stations or courts could be set to handle cases of violence against women, including domestic violence.

Intervention at the structural level would also include educating the women and providing them with vocational training so that they are more empowered as a group. This would enable the women to be self-sufficient and to provide for themselves and their children, if they

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want to leave their abusive husbands. Such education and training could take place even in the limitations of purdah. For example, older women in a community could be given basic education and/or skills training, who could then teach young girls in their homes. Preisser (1999) does caution that in traditional patriarchal societies, education and employment of women may not necessarily prevent wife abuse, and that the educated woman is just as likely to be abused as a housewife. Sev'er and Yurdakul (2001) also note that unless structural changes are accompanied by changes in cultural beliefs, women's emancipation through education or employment may result in increased violence as societal backlash. Thus, interventions at individual or institutional level must be accompanied by challenges to the larger cultural belief system.

Research and Interventions to Address Cultural Forces that Perpetuate Indirect and/or Direct Forms of Domestic Violence in Pakistan

Research on cultural norms, beliefs and traditions that may nurture direct or indirect violence could be addressed in several ways. First, attitude surveys, focus groups or experiments with vignettes could be used to assess the general population's attitude towards

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patriarchal beliefs, notions of honor and shame, gender ideologies and notions about women's sexuality. Other topics could include attitudes towards women, attitudes towards domestic violence and wife beating, or questions about culpability and blame in cases of domestic violence. Similar questions could be asked of the perpetrators, victims and survivors or domestic violence, as well as those who may deal with domestic violence cases, such as medical personnel, the police, social workers, or members of judiciary. Since the latter group represents social institutions, it may be informative to study how their personal beliefs about patriarchy, gender ideologies, attitudes towards women, or wife abuse, affect their actions and decisions in their professional roles when dealing with domestic violence. Such explorations could also include looking at women's participation in perpetuating patriarchal beliefs and oppression of younger women.

One area of research could consist of doing a content analysis of newspapers, television shows, advertisement, religious texts or sermons, school syllabi, novels or movies, to study the kinds of messages or beliefs that are portrayed about masculinity, femininity, domestic violence, gender relations, notions of honor, patriarchy, etc.

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Interventions at the cultural level could include bringing the issues of domestic violence, gender inequalities, violence in the name of honor, women's objectification and commodification in the social forefront. This could be achieved by generating advertisement campaigns, holding national discussions and debates through media, holding conferences, or personal appearances and speeches by popular figures that may connect to the average Pakistani person. It would be imperative to keep this discussion alive and consistent through repeated efforts by various means, since there might be initial resistance or ignorance of the messages by public.

Given the use of cultural and religious explanations to justify wife abuse, research could address the relationship between religious beliefs and attitudes towards domestic violence. If research does bear out a positive relationship between the two, interventions could then address misrepresentations or misinterpretations of cultural or religious values. This could involve generating information and debates regarding the discrepancies between the originally positive cultural or religious values and negative cultural practices associated with them. For example, factual information and/debates

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could address notions of honor being converted into criminal acts, honor killings and their contrariness to Islamic values, or the Islamic notions of modesty for men and women being distorted into the institution of purdah, resulting in women's seclusion.

The goal of these interventions would not be to merely criticize cultural practices, but to challenge those practices that may support violence, oppression, and exploitation of women. At the same time, it would be important to draw out and build upon those aspects of the Pakistani culture which represent ideals of equality, equanimity, and respect of all people, including women.

On a final note, while tackling domestic violence in Pakistan would involve research and interventions at the three levels mentioned above, I believe it would be important to include the Pakistani woman's own voice in this struggle. In other words, women from all regions, provinces, religions and socioeconomic groups of Pakistan must be included in defining what domestic violence means for them, how they envision freedom, and what is self-determination in the context of their lives. Eventually, the struggle for women's issues in Pakistan, whether it is their right to safety in their homes, or large-scale feminist activism, cannot be mere imitation of feminism in

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the West. Instead, it must be defined and implemented within the values and ideals of the Pakistani society.

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Appendix A

Patriarchal Beliefs

➢ Patriarchal beliefs = general system of dominance-submission

- ❖ Ideology and structures based on dominance and submission
- ❖ Hierarchical organization of social institutions
- ❖ Objectifying/ devaluing/ dehumanizing the other
- ❖ Oppressing/ controlling the other
- ❖ Men's dominance and superiority over women part of patriarchal beliefs
- ❖ Institution of marriage (traditional form) may be seen as prototype of patriarchy

➢ Patriarchy in Pakistan

- ❖ Tribal/feudal/ customs
- ❖ Patriarchal interpretations of religion
- ❖ Cultural preference for boys over girls = greater social value assigned to men over women
- ❖ State laws reflect patriarchal beliefs and practices

➢ Implications for domestic violence and wife abuse in Pakistan

- ❖ Cultural/ religious notions of men's superiority over women may legitimize men's control and subordination of their wives
- ❖ Research (in the west) = patriarchal beliefs may be related to attitudes towards domestic violence
- ❖ What does patriarchy look like in the Pakistani marriage?
- ❖ How do patriarchal beliefs relate to gender relations?
- ❖ How do patriarchal beliefs relate to attitude women, attitude towards violence towards women, and attitude towards domestic violence?
- ❖ What is the role of women in perpetuating patriarchal ideologies? (female perpetrators)

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Appendix B

Culture of Honor

➢ Culture of honor = subsystem of patriarchy

- ❖ prevalent in societies based on prestige hierarchies
- ❖ honor: one basis of social/prestige and social hierarchy
- ❖ reaction and feedback from group/ society reinforce the culture of honor
- ❖ difference in sources of prestige for men and women
- ❖ structure of prestige hierarchies accords greater power to men

➢ Culture of honor in Pakistan

- ❖ Notions of izzat/honor closely tied to women's sexuality and their behavior
- ❖ Societal vigilance over women and the conduct
- ❖ Men raised to be custodians of women and their sexuality = reinforces men's control over female family members
- ❖ Women's role in perpetuating these beliefs

➢ Implications for domestic violence

- ❖ Many honor killings at the husbands or other family members
- ❖ Cultural sanctions for men's control over women/ violence against women in name of honor
- ❖ Domestic violence in the name of honor may be glorified/ pardoned
- ❖ Notions of honor and shame may be involved in wife abuse
- ❖ Meaning of proper/improper conduct may vary from group to group
- ❖ Meaning of proper/improper conduct may extend to aspects other than the woman's sexuality
- ❖ Acts of self determination (e.g. seeking divorce) may be seen as dishonor/shame for family
- ❖ Societal pressure to regain honor may promote husband's violence against wife

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Appendix C

Gender Role Ideology

➢ Gender role ideology = subsystem of patriarchy

- ❖ Behavioral prescriptions/ expectations based upon sex
- ❖ Culturally defined constructs of masculinity/ femininity
- ❖ Men's role as dominant/ women's role as submissive, romanticize men's control
- ❖ Traditional gender roles result in division of labor and space
- ❖ Resulting in gender inequality

➢ Gender roles in Pakistan

- ❖ Patriarchal ideology and concepts of honor and shame may be mingled/ expressed through gender role socialization
- ❖ Men raised to be protectors, providers, and controllers
- ❖ Women raised to be subservient, keep family together
- ❖ Women's sexuality seen as powerful and must be curtailed
- ❖ Purdah practices = division of labor and space

➢ Implications for domestic violence

- ❖ The very notions of masculinity and femininity may be mingled with the act of abuse
- ❖ Division of labor and space increase women's dependence on men (restriction in battling abuse)
- ❖ Women's roles (obligations and duties to family and group) may influence her coping /resistance to abuse or seeking redress
- ❖ Gender role expectations may lead to self negation
- ❖ Women's resistance or coping with abuse within the domestic sphere (what might this look like in Pakistani homes?)

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Appendix D

Sexual Objectification and Commodification

➢ Sexual objectification and commodification of women

- ❖ Reducing the woman to one aspect/function = sexual and reproductive
- ❖ Self objectification = physical and mental health risks
- ❖ Men's socialization for voyeurism and non-relational sex complements the process
- ❖ Sexual objectification of women related to increased aggression towards women and increased tolerance for aggression towards women
- ❖ Commodification of women at Greek fraternities = greater likelihood of sexual assault

➢ Sexual objectification and commodification of women in Pakistan

- ❖ Societal and familial roles of women based on their sexual and reproductive roles
- ❖ Culture of honor adds to the emphasis on virginity/ sexual chastity
- ❖ Men's roles as custodians = women as property
- ❖ Marriage as transfer of ownership
- ❖ Decisions about women's lives made for political/ economic reasons

➢ Implications for domestic violence

- ❖ Objectification dehumanizes/ devalues women
- ❖ Perceiving the "object" as devoid of experience/ emotions
- ❖ How do these processes play out in the marital relationship?
- ❖ How do they play out in instances of control and abuse by the husband?
- ❖ Does societal objectification of women increase tolerance of wife abuse?

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Appendix E

Additional Considerations

- Allocentric/ kinship-based nature of the Pakistani society
- Importance of group goals/values may take precedence over individual goals
- Pressure to conform to the group may either be a deterrent or facilitator of violence
- Societal familial disapproval for divorce
- Social religious emphasis on marriage as a social institution
- Marriage as a contract between families/ kin groups
- Role of family members in facilitating or curbing abuse
- Extended family members as perpetrators
- Family structures and family hierarchies = age, gender, generation, life cycle
- Older women have more power = female perpetrators vs. facilitators of change?

- Other factors = SES, education, employment status, religious/regional/ ethnic differences

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